ΠΡΟΕΔΡΙΑ-ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ:

A

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

PRECEDENCY

OF

KINGS:

Wherein the

REASONS and *ARGUMENTS*

Of the Three Greateſt Monarks of *Chriſtendom*

Who claim a ſeveral Right *Thereunto*,

Are Faithfully Collected, and Render'd.

Whereby occaſion is taken to make *Great Britain* better underſtood then ſome Forreign Authors (either out of Ignorance or Intereſt) have repreſented *Her* in order to this Particular.

Whereunto is alſo adjoyn'd

A diſtinct Treatiſe of *AMBASSADORS*, *&c.*

With ſeveral Cuts.

By *JAMES HOWELL.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Rowland Reynolds*, and are to be Sold at his Shop at the *Sun* and *Bible* in *Poſtern*-Street neer *More-gate*. 1664

TO HIS

MAJESTY

OF

Great Britain, *France* and *Ireland*, &c.

SIR,

THer are many who have written of the Pre-eminences and Antiquity, of the Power and Prerogatives of *France* and *Spain* in order to a Precedence or Superiority; But while they magnifie their own Kings, they derogat from other: Moreover, while they produce their Reſons, they often fall into ſuch exceſſes of ſpeech, that they may be calld rather *Rodomontados* then *Reſons*.

But ther is none who hath written yet of *Great Britain* in relation to this Point; therfore tis the principal ſcope of this VVork, wherin ther is an Endevour to make Her better underſtood; and to prove by Relevant and lively Reſons, (without offence to any) That the Monark of *Great Britain* if He go not *before*, at leaſt He ought not to come *behind* any King whatſoever.

Now, in regard tis a Theme of ſo ſublime

a Nature, and depends chiefly upon ancient Records, History, and the Opinion of Civilians, (who have bin principally consulted) the Author hath had a special Care and Caution to be very exact and tru in his Quotations of all kinds.

Lastly, The Author (most humbly under favor) did deem Himself not altogether incapable of such a Task, for having bin in most of the great Courts of *Christendom*; For having Negotiated by Royal Commission above three years in the Court of *Spain*; For having bin *Orator* in an extraordinary Ambassage to *Denmark*, and divers Princes of *Germany*; For having bin so often in *France*, and sundry Courts of *Italy*, &c. He may be thought not to be *Impar Negotio*.

May all the Blessings and best Influences of Heven light upon Your Royal Head this *New-Year*, and many, many, many more, according to the due and dayly Devotions of the humblest of

Your MAJESTIES
Votaries
&
Vassals,

J. Howel.

Calendis Januarii,
1664.

To the

Diſcerning Reader.

THe *Ingredients and Matter wherof this New kind of* Hiſtorical *Peece is compoſd, may be ſaid to be all of* Crown-*Gold, the ſubject therof being* Kings : *Whence it is worth the obſerving, that* Hiſtory *is a Lady of that* Excellence, *that ſhe hath* Kings *to her Subjects.*

We well know what a tickliſh and tremendous Task it is to treat of Kings, *who have power of Life and Death ; Ther muſt be as much* Caution *as* Care *uſd therin ; It is as* perilous *as it is* painful : *It is as walking upon the Ridg of a high Houſe, or dancing upon a Rope, where unleſs one be well counterpoizd, he is in danger to break his Neck ; Eſpecially a task of this high nature, that treats of* Regal Precedence. *And we find that they who write too peremptorily thereof, have done it with more* offence *then* ſatisfaction. *And indeed ther was never any binding Determination made therof, but where Deciſions have bin made, the Princes upon new occaſions have excepted or proteſted againſt them : Therfore the Author here doth not preſume to determine the Queſtion poſitively and definitively* en dernier reſſort ; *for*

———Tantas componere lites
Non opis eſt noſtræ———

Ther-

Therfore he refers it to the Diſcerning Reader, *who is left free, and evry way unſubornd to paſs his Judgment accordingly, in meſuring evry King by the merit of his own* Reſons, *which are here fairly and faithfully exhibited; and thoſe of* France *and* Spain *exactly drawn out of their own Authors, having not omitted any that hath any weight.*

Now, tis found among Hiſtorians, that Conteſtations about Precedence of Seſſion and Superiority, with other Formalities, Complements, Viſits and Ceremonies, have bin very fatal to Chriſtendom; *And tis obſervd alſo that the various Dignities in the Church hath multiplied them: The great Claſh twixt* Rome *and* Conſtantinople, *(twixt St.* Peter *and St.* Andrew) *was the unhappy cauſe of the Defection and total Separation of the* Greek *Church from the* Latin: *The hot Diſpute for Precedence twixt the Emperour* Frederiki *and Pope* Adrian 4. *did put all the Chriſtian world on fire: The great Oecumenical Council at* Lyons, *which concernd ſo much the intereſt of* Chriſtendom, *broke up about Punctilios for Precedencie: The great Conteſt twixt* Patriarks *and* Cardinals *bred a great deal of confuſion; but at laſt the* Patriarks *had the better, for they of* Conſtantinople, Hieruſalem, Antioch, *and* Alexandria *precede the* Cardinals, *though they be calld the* Princes *of the Church, and have the Prerogative not to be tryed without* 72 *Witneſſes, I mean the* Biſhop-Cardinals; 44 *Witneſſes the* Cardinal-Prieſts, *and* 30 *the* Deacon-Cardinal.

One of the 24 *Cauſes, (and it proved the greateſt) that the* Engliſh *loſt* France, *was a Claſh that happend at St.* Omers *twixt the Duke of* Bedford *and* Burgundy *about Punctilios of Complement and Precedency. That hopeful Trety of Peace at* Bullen *twixt Queen* Elizabeth *and her Brother-in-law* Phil. 2. *King of* Spain, *after a long lingring War by Sea and Land, broke off for queſtion of* Precedence, *or rather for the peeviſhneſs of the* Spaniſh *Ambaſſadors,*

Ambaſſadors, who had no other Argument that had any probability of reſon, but that the Catholik *King was encreaſd in Territories; wheras the* Civilians *ſay, that Supervenient and Acceſſory Dominions, with accumulation of Titles, have no force twixt Princes all the while they continue ſtill in* eodem gradu dignitatis. *Nor could they give any anſwer at all to the Arguments the Engliſh* Ambaſſadors *produced, wherof one was, that of* Volaterranus, *who doth plainly relate how the Pope did adjudge the Prerogative of Precedence to* Hen. 7. *of* England, *before* Ferdinand *of* Spain, *as it will appeer more at large in the following Diſcours.*

Now, ther have bin divers means found by prudent Mediators from time to time for accommoding and reconcilement of differences in point of Precedence; *ſomtimes by* dilatorious *ways; ſomtimes by* Alternatif *Determinations, yet* Jure Partium integre reſervato; *As the great claſh twixt* Warwick *and* Buckingham *in* England *was compoſd that they ſhold precede* alternatim *evry three yeers; ſo the hot conteſt twixt the* Urſini *and the* Colonnas, *two of the antientſt Families in* Rome, *was reconcild, that the* elder *of the two who were living, ſhold precede, which makes the younger never come to the Popes Chappel, where they take place next Kings Ambaſſadors. The difference* Inter Scherenſem, & Wolfeggianam Familiam *in* Germany *was reconcild, that the one ſhold carry the* Pomum Aureum, *the Golden Apple of the Empire going in, the other at going out. Among* Artificers, *and Men of Trade, the* Civilians *ſay, that each one is to precede according to the* Dignity *of the* Stuff *wheron they work. Moreover, when Publik* Inſtruments *are made,* that Kingdom *in whoſe Right tis made hath the Precedence, ſo ſomtimes* Scotland *is namd before* England, &c. *General Precedences do differ according to the Genius of ſome Nations; as among the* Turks, *to go on the* left *hand is more honorable* ſedendo & incedendo *in*

ſitting and going then on the right ; *and the reſon is good, becauſe he may ſeaze upon his Companions Sword at pleſure. In* Spain *the Pages and Laquays go before , and the Lords follow ; And in ſome caſes tis ſo in* France, *as in going over a Bridg , a Plank or a River , the Man goes before the Maſter, according to the old Proverb,*

En Pont, en Planche, en Riviere
Valet devant, Maitre derriere.

Concerning Ambaſſadors, *ther is a way that they ſhall never claſh, which is, to make them* Parallels, viz. *that the Ambaſſadors of thoſe Kings who ſtand in competition for Precedence, do never* meet *(unleſs it be in viſiting one another) And the Mathematician tells us, That* Parallelæ etiamſi ducantur in infinitum nunquam concurrent, *Parallels although they be drawn* in infinitum , *they will never meet ; and if* Ambaſſadors *never meet , they will never juſtle or jarr.*

J. H.

The

THE

Civilians, Antiquaries, and Hiſtorians,

BOTH

Latin, Engliſh, Britiſh, Italians, Spaniſh, and *French,*

That were Conſulted, and Cited in the Compilement of this WORK.

Goldaſtus
Caſſanæus
Beſoldus
Valdeſius
Franciſco Vaſquez
Volaterranus
Bodin
Boterus
Albericus Gentilis
Lanſius
Auguſtin Caranato
Theſaurus Politicus
Ant. Corſetus
Camillo Borrello
Boccolini
Sleidon
Dr. *Gaſpar Bragaccia*
Paſchalius
Don Ant. de Zuniga
Mariana
Garibai
Fredericus de Marſelaer
Carolus de Graſſaliis
Du Haillan
Comines
Pierre Matthieu
The Biſhop of Rhodes
Du Serres
Verſtegan
Il Conte Loſco
The Lord Coke
Biſhop Uſher
Sir Thomas More
Sir Walter Raleigh
Sir Robert Cotton
Sir Henry Spelman
Sir Richard Baker
Sir John Finet
Sir John Price
Judg Doddridge
Humphry Lloyd
Judg Jenkins
Mr. Campden
Mr. Selden
Mr. Fabian Philipps
Barclays Argenis
Matthew Paris
Polydore Virgile
Sir Henry Wotten
Sir Iſaak Wake
Mr. Minſhew.

Beſides theſe Authors, many Ancient Records and Manuſcripts have bin conſulted; and the peruſing of old Parchment-Records is a hard and harſh Work; it may be ſaid to be like the peeling of old Walnuts.

Analyſis

ANALYSIS

Totius Operis.

TOuching the Matter and Method in framing this Work, it is by dividing it into four *Compartments*, *viz.* into four *Sections*; The first three treat of the Precedence of *Kings*; The fourth of *Ambassadors*. Evry one of the Sections is *subdivided* into ten heads or Paragraphs, containing still new matter.

The first Section consists of the Resons of the King of *Great Britain*, &c.

First, That He had to his Predecessors as ancient Kings as *France* and *Spain*, and as famous; among others *Mulmutius Dunwallo*, who raignd here many hundred yeers before the *Romans* came in, and he was so great a Legislator, that his Laws are calld *Leges Mulmuntinæ*, and stand upon record to this day. Moreover, his Majesty now Regnant is the hundred thirty ninth King of *Britain*, and the hundred and ninth of *Scotland*; whereas neither *Spain* or *France* can shew a Catalog of half the number.

2. The *King* of *Great Britain* had to his Predecessor the first *Christian* King that ever was upon earth, *viz.* King *Lucius*, according to the concurrent Opinion of all Antiquaries, for St. *Peters* Church in *Cornhil* was built by him, as a Record yet extant shews; and this was many hundred yeers before *France* or *Spain* had any *Christian* King, which made *England* to be entitled in all dispatches from *Rome*, *Primogenita Ecclesiæ*, the first-born Daughter of the Church. Now, it is a Canon among the Civilians, *Summa Ratio quæ ducitur à Religione*; and *Grotius* hath also a Principle, *Qui primò Christianissimum professi sunt Præcedant*, &c.

3. The King of *Great Britain* hath a *Merum & immixum Imperium* he hath as absolut Possession and Authority, and more Independent then *France* or *Spain*, take Spiritual and Temporal together.

4. The

4. The King of *Great Britain* for Eminence of Royal Dignity, for State and Titles, hath as fair Flowers, He hath as rich Jewels in his Crowns as any other; He hath as Noble Arms, the Croſs, and the *Lyon* who is *King* of Animals.

5. The *King* of *Great Britain* had to his Predeceſſor the firſt Chriſtian Emperour *Conſtantin*, and the firſt Chriſtian Worthy *Arthur* the firſt Founder of Martial *Knighthood*, whom ther is *Truth* enough to make *Famous* without that which is thought *Fabulous*.

6. The *King* of *Great Britains* Predeceſſors were the firſt who freed themſelfs from the *Roman* yoke long before *France* or *Spain*; and this is one of the greateſt Arguments that thoſe *Kings* do produce for a Precedence one of another.

7. The *Kings* of *Great Britain* had *Precedence* adjudgd Them both of *France* and *Spain* in General *Councils*, as alſo by the Decrees of Popes, as it will appeer in the following Diſcours.

8. The *King* of *Great Britain* is *Souverain* of as Noble an Order of *Knighthood* as any in *Chriſtendome*, wherof eight *Emperours*, and well neer eight times as many *Kings* have bin, and is more ancient then the Royal Orders of *France* or *Spain*.

9. The *King* of *Great Britain* hath had as Martial and Magnanimous Progenitors as any of the other two, who performd great Acts both far and neer; and touching Exploits in the *Holy Land*, the Kings of *Spain* had little ſhare in them.

10. The *King* of *Great Britain* hath as free-born and ſtrong ſturdy Peeple of four ſeveral Nations to make Soldiers of, as either *France* or *Spain*: He hath the beſt Mariners, the ſtouteſt Men of War, the Nobleſt Haven, for ſo *Milford* is accounted by all Geographers: He hath the Inacceſſibleſt Coaſts, with the greateſt Command and Power at Sea both Defenſive and Offenſive of any *King* whatſoever.

The ſecond Section

Conſiſts of Reaſons and Arguments why *France* doth pretend and challenge Priority of Place; which Reaſons (under favor) may be appliable alſo to the *King* of *Great Britain*, and the world knows why: But for to make the *King* of *Great Britain* come *after* the *King* of *France*, is to make him come *behind* himſelf, which is no leſs then an abſurdity.

The third Section

Consists of the Reasons and Arguments which *Spain* alledgeth for *Precedence*, at least of an *Equality* with the two forementiond *Kings*; extracted with as much fidelity as carefulness out of her own Authors, as Don *Diego de Valdez*, D. *Francisco Vasquez*, with others.

The fourth Section

Consists of a Discours of *Ambassadors*. Tis tru, ther are some who have written of this subject already, yet not any under this Meridian; But those Forreners who have discourid therof do amuse the Reader with such general Notions, that the Breeding and Qualities which they require, as also the Monitions, Precepts and Instructions which they prescribe, may fit any other Mihister of State, or Man of Business. But this Discours doth appropriat it self soly to the subject we undertake; *viz.* to the Function, Office and Incumbency of an *Ambassador*.

A neceſſary *Aviſo* to the Reader.

WHeras the four following Sections *which may be calld ſo many* Decades, *in regard evry one conſiſts of* Ten *ſeveral* Diſcourſes, *which makes forty in all*; *I ſay, wheras they are full of* Quotations, Authorities, Texts, Teſtimonies, and Examples, *both Modern and Ancient*; *And wheras the* Author *was not ſo preciſe as to point at the particular Pages, Paragraphs, or Chapters where they are found, and wherwith other Books have their Margens ſo cloggd: The* Reader *is humbly deſird to take this Advertiſement, That it belongs to School-men, and Profeſſors of the Laws, who uſe to deal with matters of* Meum & Tuum, *or of* Life *and* Death, *to be ſo punctual*;

But, under favor, free Hiſtorians *are not tied to ſuch a ſtrictneſs: Wherfore they may modeſtly expect, that, with an* Ingenuous Candor *the* Readers *wold carry with them a* Generous Confidence, *which they may do here without ſcruple of Conſcience, or incurring any danger to wrong their* Faith.

J. H.

Several Books worth buying, to be sold by Samuel Speed *at the Rainbow neer the Inner Temple-gate in* Fleet-ſtreet.

Gvillims Heraldry: *Folio.*
Atterſol on *Philemon*: *Folio.*
Ammianus Marcellinus: *Folio.*
Porta's Natural Magick: *Folio.*
Pharamond, a Romance: *Folio.*
Shepards Actions on Deeds: *Folio.*
Palmerin of *England*: 4.
Artificial Changeling: 4.
Bacons Hiſtory of *England*: 4.
Dr. *Griffiths Bethel*: 4.
Purchas of Bees: 4.
White on the Sabbath: 4.
Genealogies: in 4.
in 8.
in 12.
Mountagues Eſſays: 4.
Perkins Catechiſm: 8.
Judge *Ramſey* of Coffee: 8.
Ramſey of Poyſons: 8.
Paracelſus of Metals: 8.
Ainſworths Communion of Saints: 8.
Sadlers Art of Phyſick: 8.
Burgerſdicius Logick: 8.
The Life of *Henry* the fourth: 8.
Latine Bibles: 12.
Andrews Catechiſtical Doctrine: 12.
Drexelius Chriſtian Zodiack: 12.
Wollebius in Latine: 12.
——— in Engliſh: 12.

Theſe to be ſold by Chriſtopher Eccleſton, *under St.* Dunſtans *Church in* Fleetſtreet.

Crooks Report: *Fol.*
Wingates Reports: *Fol.*
Latches Reports: *Fol.*
Queens Cloſet: 12.
Wits Recreations: 8.
Athanaſius Life: 8.
Life of St. *Cuthbert*: 8.
Littleton on the Church-Catechiſm: 8.
Wars of the Jews: 8.
Caſes of Conſcience about things indifferent.
Grand Caſe of the preſent Miniſtry.
Review of the Grand Caſe.
Sales Epigrammatum, being the choiceſt Dyſticks of *Martials* Epigrams, of chief Latine Poets that have been theſe laſt two hundred yeers.
Shakeſpears Plays.

Touching

Touching the

PRECEDENCE

OF

Soverain Princes.

COncerning the *Pope* and the *Emperour*, ther never was any queſtion or controverſie of their Precedencies, and conſequently of their *Repreſentatives* in all Tranſactions and Signatures, at all Oecumenical Councils, with other Public Meetings, being allowed to the *One* (by thoſe who are devoted to him by way of *Filiation*) as he is held The Vicar of Chriſt, The Succeſſor of the Prince of the Apoſtles, The Holy Father, who hath the command of the *Spiritual* Sword which ſtrikes deep, having Dominion over the *Nobleſt* part of Man which is the *Soul*; Inſomuch that ſome have magnified *Him* ſo far, and fallen to ſuch an exceſs of ſpeech, as to ſay, That He antecels all Temporal Princes as much as the *Soul* excels the *Body*. Nor do they onely allow him Priority of place, but out of high Ideas of Holineſs, both *Emperour* and *Kings* eſteem it a great honour to hold the Baſon and Towel when he waſheth his hands; nay, to hold his Stirrop and Bridle, yea to kiſs his Feet: according to the Poet, who gives this Character of Him;

Enſe potens Gemino, Cujus veſtigia adorat
Cæſar, *& aurato veſtiti murice* Reges.

He who commands the Two-edg'd Sword, whose Feet
Cæsar, and crowned *Kings* with Kisses greet.

Insomuch that when at the great Ceremony of his Consecration by the Cardinal-Bishop of *Ostia*, the Papal Mitre is put on his head, the chief Deacon says aloud, *Accipe Tiaram tribus ornatum coronis, & scias Te esse Patrem Regum, & Rectorem orbis*, &c. Receive the Mitre adorned with three Crowns; and know, that thou art the Father of Kings, and Rector of the world, *&c.*

From hence is derived the Precedence that all other Churchmen have; as at the Election of the Emperour, the three *Ecclesiastical* Electors, *viz.* the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Colen*, and *Triers*, take place of the *King* of *Bohemia*, and all the rest. Moreover, out of a special Veneration of the Church, when the Tremendous Oath is read and administred unto them to be just in their choice, the Archbishops put their hands onely upon their *Breasts*, whereas all the Secular Electors hold their hands upon the *Book* all the while. Adde hereunto, that the *Cardinals* being Princes of the Church, deduce such a Pre-eminence from the *Pope*, that they take Precedence of all Ambassadours whose Masters are devoted to the Roman See. Moreover, among the Peers of *France*, the Six *Spiritual* without any scruple take Precedence of the rest: as also our *Bishops* do in *England* in the Parliament-house of all the *Lay Peers*. Furthermore, the Pope hath still such a sway and influence upon the *Emperour*, that he cannot be stil'd *Augustus*, or receive the Golden Crown, until he be *confirmed* by the Consistory at *Rome*.

Of the Emperour.

WE come now to wait on the Emperour, who retains still the Title of *Cæsar*, and *Semper Augustus*: He also is stil'd *Numen*, *Divus*; and his Edicts are call'd *Sancita Divalia*, God-like Decrees. For many Descents the Empire continued in the Race of *Julius Cæsar*, until *Domitius Nero's* time; then the Name of *Cæsar* grew to be *Accidental*, and given by way of *Adoption* to the Heir apparent of the Empire, whereas before he was call'd *Princeps Juventutis*: and when the *Western* Empire came to be reviv'd in *Charlemain*, the next to succeed was term'd *King of Italy*, but now he is created King of the Romanes; which Institution was made by *Charles* the Fifth.

Julius Cæsar was the first who rais'd *Rome* to an Empire, though it cost him dear: for the Foundation thereof was cimented

ted with his own blood, being assassinated in the Senat by his neareſt Confidents in compaſſing that great work: whereby 'tis obſervable what an extraordinary kinde of Fate did betide that City: for as the firſt Foundation thereof was ſprinkled with *Blood* when *Romulus* caus'd his Brother *Rhemus* to be put to death, when the firſt Walls thereof were erecting; ſo the Roman Empire was afterwards firſt raiſed by *Caeſar*'s *Blood*. And the *Spiritual* Empire ſhe enjoys ſince, may alſo be ſaid to have been raiſed by the *Blood* of Chriſtian Martyrs, among whom above thirty of the firſt *Biſhops* of *Rome* were of the number.

Now, if one ſhould compare the preſent Roman Empire with the *Old* when it was at the higheſt flouriſh, the Parallel would bear no more proportion then a *Wren* (who yet is call'd in Latine *Regulus*, a little *King*) doth hold with an *Eagle*: for the Roman Monarchy when ſhe was at the greateſt pitch of Sublimity and Altitude of Puiſſance and Glory, may be ſaid to have no Horizon, no Termination (as the Author hath it elſewhere) while ſhe ſate upon her ſeven Hills, ſhe may be ſaid to have overlooked the World. The City of *Rome* was *then* fifty Miles in circuit; five hundred thouſand Free Citizens were computed to ſleep within her Walls, by that famous Cenſe which *Vopiſcus* ſpeaks of. The Roman Eagle fixed his Talents upon the banks of *Euphrates* Eaſtward; on the *Nile*, and the Mountains of the Moon, *South*; on the *Danube* and *Rhin* Northward; and *Weſt*, as far as the Britiſh and German Ocean. Her annual Revenues were computed at 150 Millions, whereof the Salary of her Legionary Soldiers amounted yearly to above 20 Millions, *&c.* But that high-ſoaring Eagle, who with full-ſumm'd Wing flew ſo far, and may be ſaid to have the *Sun* himſelf for her Companion, now with a few broken and tatter'd flaggy Plumes flies onely twixt *Danube* and the *Rhin*; and were ſhe not *impd* with *Auſtrian* Fethers, ſhe wold be as bald as a new-pluck'd Capon.

Yet for all this Fatal *Stoop*, had the Emperour at preſent all *Germany* entirely ſubject to himſelf, as he *precedes* in *Title* and *Place*, ſo he might haply compare in *Power* with any one *Chriſtian* Prince: for *Almaine* or *Teutony* is a Continent of ſuch a vaſt Expanſion, that it might give the Law to any one ſingle Kingdome in *Europe* were it ſubject to one Head. But the Emperour *in ſtatu quo nunc*, may be ſaid to be but *Titulary* Emperour of *Germany*: for of thoſe *Ten Circles* whereinto it is divided, *viz. Auſtria* High and Low, *Franconia*, *Bavaria*, *Saxonia*, *Weſtphalia*, the Lower Circle of *Saxony*, the two *Palatinats*, and *Burgundy*, he hath no abſolute Authority but onely in *Auſtria*, which is his Patrimonial Inheritance. The Government of the reſt, though it be *principally* in the Emperour, 'tis *diffuſedly* in the Diet or Imperial

perial Parlement, but *contractedly* and actually in the seven Electors, who have a kinde of *Jus Regale* in them, as power of Life and Death, Coyning of Moneys, Levying of Men, and settling what Religion they please; it being a Rule and Prerogative among them, That *Quilibet Imperii Status tantum possit in suo Territorio, quantum Imperator in toto Imperio:* Every State of the Empire hath as much power in his own Territory, as the Emperour hath in the whole Empire. Yet they cannot make any League or Confederacy with any other Prince, but with this Reservation, That it be not prejudicial to the common Peace of the Empire.

Now we finde that there were many fatal Causes which concurred to bring the Roman Empire to so low an ebb: The first was the Translation of the Imperial Court from *Rome* to *Bizantium* or *Constantinople*, whereby the Eagle grew to be a Monster with two heads, the one looking *Eastward*, the other *West:* yet he of the *East* stil'd himself still for about 400 years The *Roman* Emperour, governing the West by Deputies; during which time, a world of tough *Northern* Nations broke into *Italy* to draw nearer the *Sun*; and *there* as well as in other places, took firm footing, until *Charlemain* chac'd them away, who first stil'd himself *Emperour of the West* by an Agreement made with *Nicephorus* at *Constantinople:* which *Western* Empire also received soon after a fatal Blow by the Partition that his Son *Lewis* the Debonnaire made to finde Portions for his three Sons; insomuch that the *Roman* Empire came to be coop'd up at last within the *German* Pale: and since that time it stands upon Historical Records, how from the Raign of *Rodolph* the first, above 200 Princes, States, and Imperial Cities, have dismembred and emancipated themselfs from the Empire; some by working upon the Emperours Necessities, and furnishing him with *Tresure* to support his Wars; and for their *Moneys* they had *Immunities* granted them equivalent to a Releasement from Subjection. Moreover, as the Popes Temporal Dominions most of them were *Plumes* taken from the Roman *Eagle*, so the change of Religion by the *Lutherans* did much weaken him, for many since revolted quite from him without paying any thing. The last were the *Lituanians*, the *Swisses*, and *Geneva*; the first fell from *Charles* the Fifth, who summoning them to their Obedience, and threatning else to reduce them by Arms, they returned this jeering Answer, That they believed *his Horse wold tire before he could reach the Skirts of Lituania.* And the *Swisse* falling from their *Spiritual* Obedience to the Pope, fell also from their *Temporal* Allegiance to the Emperour, and to have any thing to do with the Chamber of *Spire.*

Thus we see in part the Degrees and Causes of the Declination

tion of the *Roman* Monarchy at first, and of the *German* Empire afterwards, which may be said to have shrunk from a *great Lyon into a Cat-skin.* But to know the principal cause, we must cast our eyes upward, and attribut all to the Will and high Pleſure of the All-disposing *Emperour* of the Universe, who as he puts bounds to the raging Billows of the great Ocean, so he sets Boundaries and Periods to all Earthly Grandeurs.

Nevertheless, though in point of *Power* and Territories the *Emperour* be grown so weak and naked in comparison of what he was, yet in point of *Precedence* and Dignity he bears up still the same, being accounted the prime Potentat, and Prince paramount of *Christendome.* And well may all *Christian* Kings esteem him so, in regard that their Territories may be said to be but Branches of the great Roman *Tree*, which falling off, and taking new Roots, they began to taper up, and grow to be Regal *Trees* of themselfs. *Great Britain*, as she was the *last* that was reduced under the Roman Yoak, so she was the *first* who shook it off, and enfranchiz'd her self: which is no mean honour and advantage to her *King* in point of Precedence, as will appeer more at large in the ensuing Discourse.

Nor is the *Emperour* and his Ministers thus esteem'd among *Christian* Kings onely, but also by the *Turk*, who stiles him still the *Roman* Emperour, and next himself the greatest Monarch; reputing his Ambassadours accordingly, by allowing them to have Palaces in *Constantinople* the same side the *Seraglio* is on; and they go always *concomitant* with the *Ottoman* Court wheresoever it removes. They have the Precedence given them of the Ambassadors both of the *Persian* and *Tartar*, notwithstanding that the first holds himself the greatest Potentat upon Earth, having a custome duely observed, that after Dinner an Officer winds a Trumpet at his Court-gate towards the four parts of the world, to give notice to all other Princes that he hath Dined already, and so *they* may go now all to Dinner. And concerning the *Persian*, the example of the Lo. *David Ungnadius* shall serve, who being Ambassador in the Turks Court for the Emperour, and coming for Audience to the *Duana*, the *Persian* Ambassador had come before, and got the Chair; but *Ungnadius* offering to go away, the Gran Visier caus'd an upper Chair to be put for him. Another time at *Mahomet* the thirds Circumcision, which lasted 40 days, there being then in *Constantinople* the *Ambassadors* of the greatest Monarchs upon Earth, yet the Ambassador of *Rodulphus* the Emperour had the *Precedence* of them all.

All this is but *Collateral* to the main Designe of the intended Discourse, which aims chiefly at *Kings*, whereunto we now hasten; but we will first give a few Hints or *Prolegomenas* of the Original of *Kingly* Goverment.

Of Royalty, or Kingly Government.

THere is a Saying in *France*, *Pape par voix*, *Empereur par Force*, *Roy par Nature:* Pope by Choice, Emperour by Might, King by Nature, *viz.* Succeſſive, and Hereditary Kings who ought to have the Precedence of *Elective.* Whence may be inferred, That *Kingly* Government is moſt agreeable to Nature. Now 'tis a tru and elegant Principle, That *Naturam ſequi eſt Deo obſequi*; To follow Nature is to obey God.

Concerning the Character or Title of *King*, it is of a more ancient date then that of *Emperour.* For they who grope at Government before the *Floud*, ſpeak of *Kings* in *Chaldee* and *Egypt.* *Rome* began with *Kings*, and it may be ſaid, that it was more the *Peeples Wantonneſs* then *Tarquin*'s which put them down. Afterwards the Name of *Emperour* was given to that perſon who was Commander in chief of the Army or Prætorian Bands, and Legionary Soldiers: it was not a Title of that Sublimity and Tranſcendence as it proved afterward. Among the Greek Authors the Names of Monarchs, Kings and Emperours are taken promiſcuouſly: But all Writers that pretend to Policy, acknowledge that *Kingly* Government of all other as it is the moſt ancient, (and may be ſaid to begin with *Adam*) ſo it hath moſt conformity with that of Heaven, whence the beſt patterns for all Humane Actions are to be fetch'd, and 'tis no preſumption to do it. Moreover, of all kinde of Ruling Powers, *Royalty* is the prime; for in *it*, as the Civilians ſay, there is *formalis, & completa gubernandi ratio*, the moſt formal, and compleat Eſſence of Government. *Royalty* alſo hath the eaſieſt, the feweſt, and certainſt Principles, (if any *certain* can be found) for there is no Knowledge ſo ſubject to confuſion and incertitudes, as the Art for Man to govern Men; It could never yet be brought to a *Science*, which conſiſts of general and tru Apodictical Demonſtrations. The Reaſon may be, the various Inclinations, Caprichio's, and Humours of Peeple, proceeding from the diverſity of Climes, and Cœleſtial Influences; as alſo, from that World of Contingencies which attend Human Negotiations; likewiſe from the diffring Poſitions of Earth, for thoſe Laws and kinds of Government which may be proper for the *Continent*, will not fit an *Inſulary* Peeple; nor thoſe Laws of a *Maritime* Country can ſute with meer *Inland*, or Mediterranean Territories: Therefore, that *Gran Senior* of all Knowledge, the *Stagirite*, whereas he uſeth to be conſtant to himſelf while he gives Maximes for other *Sciences*, when in his *Politiques* he comes to Human Government, and beats his Brain how to preſcribe certain Rules conducing thereunto, He is not found onely at a loſs, and wavering

wavering to himſelf, but he wraps his Scholars here and there in Clouds of Ambiguities. Nor can we blame him and others to rove up and down in that manner upon this ſubject, it being beyond the compaſs of Human Brain to enact ſuch Laws may fit all times, prevent all accidents, and quadrat with the Genius of all Nations. Some Peeple are ſo fiery-mouth'd that they muſt be rid with a *Bit*, *Curb*, and *Martingale*; but a ſnaffle and gentle hand will ſerve to manage others: Now 'tis obſerv'd, that they who inhabit hard and barren Countries, are more eaſily govern'd then thoſe who live in fat and luxurious Soyls, where being pamper'd with Plenty and Wealth, they are apt to grow wanton, and kick at, or overthrow their Riders.

Yet it may be ſaid, that there is one certain and Univerſal Rule for Government, and to keep a Peeple in a conſtant and exact Obedience; and that Rule is, For the Soveraign Prince to have always a ſtanding and viſible actual Power in motion, as well to conſerve as to *curb* a Peeple in caſe of any Commotion; And 'tis conſentaneous to good Reaſon, that the Subject ſhold contribut for this general Protection, according to the ſaying, *Defend me, and ſpend me*; that ſo evry one may reſt under his own Roofs, and ſit at his own Fires in quietneſs and ſafety. In ſum, All Statiſts concur in this, That there is an *Awe* due to a King, as well as *Affection*; He muſt be a *Dread* Soverain, as well as a *Gracious*; and that Goverment is beſt temper'd where a few Drams of *Fear* are blended with the Peeples *Love*. But now to our main Work.

Touching

Touching

The Precedence of Kings,

And particularly of the great

TRIUMVIRS,

OR

The *Three* moſt Potent KINGS in *Europe*.

IN diſcuſſing this high Point, we will firſt look Weſtward: For there is a Story tells us, That once when there were divers who ſtood in competition for the Kingdome of *Perſia*, it was agreed between them, that the next morning they ſhold all meet in a great Plain, and he who did firſt ſee the Sun riſing, and that his Horſe did neigh, ſhold be the King. Being met on Horſe-back at break of day, as the reſt ſtood gazing towards the *Eaſt*, *Darius* one of the Competitors, look'd always towards the Weſt; and at laſt finding a glance of the Solar Beams, his Horſe neighed; whereat he ſuddenly turned back, and ſo claim'd the Kingdome: So, to finde the truth of what is here ſought after, we will firſt look *Weſtward* towards *Great Britain*, whoſe King may compare with any other whatſoever for theſe Reaſons.

Firſt, for Antiquity of Predeceſſors, and particularly of *Chriſtian* Kings.

Secondly, for an Independent, abſolute and unhomageable Poſſeſſion and Authority, both Spiritual and Temporal.

Thirdly, for Eminence of Royal Dignity, State and Titles.

Fourthly, for Martial Exploits and Atchievments abroad.

Fifthly, for a ſtout and ſtrong ſturdy freeborn Peeple, with a plentiful Maſculine Country, and generality of Wealth.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, for a Royal long-lind Extraction and Blood.

Seventhly, for Hoſpitality, and a plentiful Kingly Court, with number of Officers, and ſtately Attendance.

Eighthly, for diverſity of Nations, and diffring Maternal Languages; As alſo that no Kings Face ſhines upon his Coyn in purer Metal.

Ninthly, for Prudential Laws and Conſtitutions.

Tenthly, for Greatneſs of *Power* by *Sea* and *Land* Defenſive and Offenſive,

With other Prerogatives: I ſay, that the King of *Great Britain* may hereby not onely claim an Equality with the other two, but ſtand fair for a *Precedence*. Now, for proof of all the fore-pointed Particulars, we will put evry one by it ſelf, and treat thereof in ſeveral *Paragraphs*; and firſt,

Of the Antiquity of the King, and particularly of the Chriſtian Kings in Great Britain, *whereby we take* A Jove Principium.——

IT is obſerved by moſt Annaliſts who write of Countries and Nations, that the *Britains* who were the *Aborigenes*, the Primitive Inhabitants, and may be ſaid to be *Connatural* with this Iland it ſelf, were by a ſpecial inſtinct much devoted to the contemplation of heavenly things: For the ancient *Druydes* that were the firſt *Divines* or Profeſſors of Religion, (who in lieu of Monaſteries or Colleges, were uſed to retire themſelfs to Woods and ſolitary places to ſpeculat the Works of God and Nature) were renowned far and near beyond the Seas; and the Emperour *Julius Cæſar* writes, that the *Gaules* (now *French*) were wont to come over to be inſtructed by the *Britiſh Druydes*, who, as he ſaith elſewhere, and is ſeconded by *Cornelius Tacitus*, (which ſpent part of his life here) had more pregnant capacities then the *Gaules*. Now, in thoſe times ther were divers Martial Kings here, whereas they ſcarce make mention of any in *Gallia*. To avoid prolixity, we will inſtance onely in *Boadicia* that admired Virago, and *Cataractus*, who having maintain'd for many years this Kingdom from the *Romanes* more by the Bodies of Men, and pure Natural Valour, then by *Arms*, was at laſt carried Priſoner to *Rome*, where being not a whit daunted, he reproach'd the *Romanes*, (yet with a kind of complement) That he wondred how *they* having ſuch ſtately Palaces at *Rome*, wold take ſuch long hazardous Journeys to dwell in homely Houſes of Clay, as thoſe of *Britain* were in thoſe days. Before the *Romans* raigned here, there had been very many Kings of this Iland, for *Caſsibelan* whom *Cæſar* ſpeaks of, was the ſixty third Britiſh

King thereof; when it pleaſed the *Father of Light* to diſplay the early Beams of Chriſtianity in this Iland, which was very betimes: for, as *Gregory* the 15th ſays in his Letter to his late Majeſty at that time in *Spain*, (which he was to receive in common civility as the *Pope* is alſo a Temporal *Prince*) *No ſooner did the Roman Eagle fly over hither, but the Standard of the Croſs was inarborated and ſet up:* I ſay, that *then*, which may be ſaid to be in the nonage of the Church, *Lucius Surius*, call'd in *Britiſh*, *Llei vab Coel Lucius*, the Son of *Coel*, (who was King before him) ſent to *Eleutherius* for his Laws to governe the Church by, who returned him this anſwer: *Vicarius Dei eſtis in Regno veſtro, Gentes veſtri Regni pulli veſtri ſunt*, &c. *Habetis penes vos legem, & Fidem Chriſti; Habetis utramq; paginam*, &c. You are Gods Vicar in your Kingdome, your Peeple are your Chickins; you have the Law, and Faith of Chriſt; you have both the Teſtaments, *&c.* This King *Lucius* afterwards having frequent ſymptomes and fits of extraordinary Devotion, forſook all earthly Pomp and Pleſure, and went on Pilgrimage to *Rome*, where he employed the remnant of his life in the Theory of holy things, and to ſtudy the Art of *Mortification*, as Venerable *Bede* and *Baronius*, with all Authors both Old and New, do affirm.

Now, this was a long tract of time before ther was any *Chriſtian* King in *France* or *Spain*, or indeed any where elſe. 'Tis true, that St. *James* the Apoſtle was in *Spain*, but as the Story ſays, there were but nine perſons that were converted; but in *Great Britain* it may be ſaid, that as the Sun when he begins to appear and culminat in the Eaſt, doth as it were in a moment enlighten the whole Hemiſphere; ſo the Rays of the *Son of Righteouſnes* did with marvellous celerity and ſucceſs (leaping over as it were many other Countries) illuminat this *Weſtern* Iland firſt, inſomuch that when *Auſtin* (whom many call *The Apoſtle of the Saxons* or Engliſh) arrived here ſome Ages after, ther were *then* in *Bangor* and elſewhere above 2000 Monks. He found the *Pentateuch* of *Moſes* & the New Teſtament tranſlated into *Britiſh*, as alſo a Form of Divine Service, which ſtand yet upon record. The huge Continent of *Germany*, with *Norway* and *Denmark*, with divers other *Countries*, acknowledg to have receiv'd the firſt light of Learning and of the *Goſpel* from hence by *Winfrid* and *Willebrod*, as an ingenious *German-Poet* confeſſeth in theſe Numbers:

Hæc tamen Arctois laus eſt æterna Britannis,
Quòd poſt Pannonicis vaſtatum incurſibus Orbem
Illa bonas Artes, & Graiæ munera Linguæ,
Stellarumq; vias, & magni ſydera Cœli
Obſervans, iterum turbatis intulit oris,
Quin ſe Religio multùm debere Britannis

Servata,

Servata, & latè circum diſperſa fatetur;
Quis nomen Winfride *tuum, quis munera neſcit!*
Te Duce Germanis pietas ſe vera, Fideſq;
Inſinuans cœpit ritus abolere prophanos;
Quid non Alcuino *facunda Lutetia debet?* &c.

And as it is the conſentient Opinion of all Antiquaries, That the firſt *Chriſtian* King who ever raign'd in *Europe* was of this Ile, ſo the firſt *Chriſtian* Emperour (*Conſtantin* the Great) came from her Bowels, being Son to *Helena* that renowned *Britiſh* Lady, who bears one of the firſt places in the Catalogue of Saints, and is called *Elen luyddiog* (the Warlike *Helen*) in *Welch* to this day.

Theſe Premiſes being well weigh'd, this Concluſion may be deduc'd, That the King of *Great Britain* may well claim *de Jure* the title of *The firſt Son of the Church.* Therefore, under favor, it may be juſtly queſtion'd why the next King *Eaſtward* ſhold aſſume it; for *Clouis* the firſt Chriſtian King in *France* was neer upon 400 years after King *Lucius*, as all Hiſtorians do aſſert.

Moreover, tis well known that beſides the title of *Defendor of the Faith*, (whereof we will ſpeak hereafter) the title of *Chriſtianiſſimus* was ſent to *Hen.* 8. with much ſolemnity by Pope *Julius* the ſecond, accompanied with a Cap of Maintenance, and a Sword; which title was confirmed by Authority of the *Lateran* Council: which great tranſaction was ſolemnly publiſh'd in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*, and ſeconded with Juſts and Tournements; yet this was but the renewing of an old *Title*, for among the *Saxon* Kings ſome were call'd ſo, and ther are Records yet extant that King *Oſwald* and *Edward* the third were ſtil'd ſo.

We will conclude this Paragraph with this Obſervation, That *Great Britain* was the firſt Country in *Europe* who ſhook off the Roman Yoak, and rais'd ſome of the former old Britiſh Blood to be Kings again for many Deſcents, inſomuch that the Romans here made but an *Interregnum:* And this was before any abſolut King was elſewhere in *Europe* upon the declinings of the Empire, ſpecially in *France* and *Spain*, who continued but Roman *Provinces* many years after. We will now to the ſecond Paragraph.

Of the Independent, Abſolut and Unhomageable Poſſeſſions and Authority, both Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal, of the King of Great Britain.

FRom the precedent Paragraph it appears, That *Albion* or *Great Britain* was a Royal Ile from the beginning, ſince there

there was any coalition or aggregations of mankind within her to govern. For in the body of the British Laws made by *Mulmutius Dunwallo*, which are yet to be read in fair *British*-Manuscripts, ther are these words, *Un Goron arbennig y ſydd y ynis Bridain*; One Monarchical Crown is held in the Ile of *Britain*: Just according to the ancient Greek Poet:

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν Πολυκοιρανίη, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω.

Many Lords are not good, let there be but One.

Now from that time to this, the King of *Britain* had and hath as Souveraign and incontroulable a sway as any. 'Tis true that he admits others sometimes to share with him in *Counsel*, but not in *Power*: by a kind of Influence he *gives* Light and *Command* to others, but he himself *receives* none from any.

In the Neighbouring Monarchies it cannot be said so, and particularly in *France* and *Spain*, where it may be said ther is *Regnum in regno*, ther is another Power *à Legatus de latere*, that in a *Court of Plea* sways ore the *Eccleſiaſtiques* who make a considerable part of the Peeple. Touching the latter, the King of *Spain* is *Feodary* either to the *Pope*, the *Emperour*, or to *France*, for all the Countries he hath: The Kingdomes of *Navarre* and *Granada* were made Feodary to the Pope under *Julius* the second: *Aragon* to *Innocent* the third, as also *Sardinia in formula fiduciæ*. *Sicilia* is relevant from the Church, as also both the *Indies* and the *Canary* Ilands. For the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Calabria* he sends a Mule, with a Purse-full of Gold, as a Heriot to *Rome* evry year, (for fear of an Excommunication the next day) at the receit whereof the Pope says, *Sufficiat pro hac vice*. He holds the Dukedome of *Milan* from the Empire, and most of the Provinces in the *Netherlands* from *France*, whereof he is a double *Peer*, as he is Duke of *Burgundy* and Earl of *Flanders*. Now 'tis questionable among the Civilians, whether a Feodary or Homager may be call'd an Absolut Prince, specially when *Appeals* may be made from him to another Court, as the Spanish Clergy may from the King to *Rome* in divers cases.

The Kings of *ENGLAND* are free from *Subordinations* of that kind, as the Fundamental Laws of the Land, and all the ancient Learned Judges do evidence. 'Tis a Principle in the English Laws, (which is confirm'd by *Baldus*, and other great Forren Jurists) That *Rex neminem habet in Dominiis ſuis nec Superiorem nec Parem*: The King in his own Dominions hath neither Superior nor Equal, (He may be said to be both *Cæsar* and *Pompey*.) There is another, *Omnes ſub Illo, Ille ſub nullo*; All under *Him*, He under none. Another yet, *Satis habet Rex ad pœnam quod Deum expectet Ultorem*: 'Tis enough for the King that

that God is to be his Judge; which is expreſſed in this Diſtic:

Subditus in Regem peccat, *Legemq*; *Fidemq*;
At Rex in Solum, Rex *quia*, *nempe* Deum.

Ther are divers others that are conducing hereunto; As, The King muſt not be put to do any thing *per aſperte*, but of his free pleſure: *The King never dies*, but the Heir apparent is King *Inchoative* as ſoon as the former dies; and the *Coronation* is but a meer Ceremony not Eſſential: for divers Kings, as *Hen.*5. and others, had *Alleageance* ſworn unto them before they were *Crowned.* There are more Maximes yet, *That the King can do no wrong*, but his Miniſters may, through whoſe mouths he pronounceth ſentence. Moreover, *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, Ther's no Immemorial or Preſcription againſt the King. It is High Treſon not only to *contrive*, but to *imagine* ill againſt the King. By the Kings Prerogative *Life it ſelf may be leaſed*, &c. But that Traverſe twixt King *John* and the Legat *Pandolpho*, when they ſay he transferred the Crown to the Pope, is much inſiſted upon: wherunto tis thus anſwered:

That ther are four great things whereof the *Records* cannot be found: The firſt is *that* wherin the Emperour *Conſtantine* gave *Rome* to the Pope; The ſecond is *that* wherin *Venice* hath the Dominion of the Adriatic or Illyrian Gulph; The third is the *Salique Law*; The fourth is that Inſtrument wherby King *John* paſs'd over his Crown, and made the Pope Lord Paramount of *England.* Sir *Thomas More*, who was ſo far devoted to *Rome* that he is canoniz'd for one of her Martyrs, denieth abſolutly that King *John* either did or could make *England Feudetary* to the Pope, becauſe without the conſent of his Barons an Act ſo much prejudicial to his Royal Succeſſors was not valid; and that the *Peter-pence* which they hold to be a *Tribut* relating to the foreſaid Act, was but a meer *Alms* which was given by King *Ina* 500 years before. Moreover, put caſe ther had been ſuch an Act, yet it ſtands upon good record that *Innocentius* the third did give a Releaſe in theſe words; *Per Præceptum Domini Papæ 7 Julii Homagium relaxatur omninò.* The *Rome-ſcot* alſo was but *Regis larga benignitas*, the *Kings* bountiful kindneſs.

Adde hereunto, that when the Pontificial Power was here at the higheſt pitch, no *Legat de latere* was allowed, but the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (his Subject) who by his Dignity is perpetual *Legat de latere*, He is *Legatus natus* (as he of *Toledo* is in *Spain*, and the Primat of *Armagh* in *Ireland*) and in point of Precedence, at the Council of *Clermont* anno 1096. a Prerogative was given him for ever to ſit at all general Councils at the Popes right foot; Pope *Urban* at that time declaring in theſe terms,

Includamus hunc in Orbe noſtro tanquam alterius Orbis Pontificem Maximum, Let us include him in our world as Pope of another world. 'Tis true, ther have been other *Legats de latere* upon extraordinary occaſions admitted, but it was with the *Kings* leave, and with this *Proviſo*, That he hath no Authority to hold Plea in the Realm prejudicial to the Laws thereof, or derogatory to the *King*.

Thus it appears that no *Extern* power hath any thing to do in *Great Britain*; and as the *Pope*, ſo the *Peeple* neither, whether conſider'd *Diffuſively*, *Collectively*, *Repreſentatively*, or *Vertually*, partake any thing of the *Souverain Power*; ther is no power either *Co-ordinat*, *Co-equal*, *Corrival*, or *Collateral* with it. The *Kings* of *England* have had always by the known Laws of the Land a pure underived Power, not depending upon *Pope* or *Peeple*, or any other *Prince* whatſoever: They are *Kings by the Grace of God*, which implies no earthly Dependency. It ſtands upon good record, how *King Ina* in the *Preamble* to his Laws (for he was a great *Legiſlator*) begins, *I Ina, by the Grace of God King*, &c. and this was above a thouſand years ago, about two hundred years before *Charlemain*, in whoſe time that ſtile of *Dei Gratia* came firſt in uſe in the *Empire*.

And as on *Land* the *King* of *Great Britain* hath ſuch a Latitude and Independence of *Supreme Power*, ſo by *Sea* he hath the like; which is ſuch, that (without diſparagement, much leſs any *injuſtice* to any) I may avouch no other *Prince* hath the like. The greateſt claim of Sea-Dominion that *France* makes, is to the Coaſts of *Armorica*, or little *Britany*, and a few Leagues in the *Mediterranean*. The *Spaniſh* Laws are for the community, and free uſe of the Sea, challenging no Dominion at all. Ther are divers States in *Italy* that claim a particular command and propriety in ſome Seas; as the Duke of *Tuſcany* challengeth a Dominion of the *Tyrrhene* Sea; the State of *Genoa* of the *Liguſtique*; *Venice* claims a right to the *Adriatic* as (ſymbolically) to a Husband, for ſhe marries him upon *Aſcention*-day evry yeer, the Duke going in proceſſion with great ſolemnity in the *Buantoro* to that purpoſe, and throwing a Ring into the water; and She hath power to do in that part of the Sea which ſhe calls her *Gulph*, as much as ſhe can do in *Venice* it ſelf in point of laying Impoſitions and Gabels, and to cauſe what Mercantile ſhips ſhe pleaſe to unlade their Cargazons at the City of *Venice* it ſelf. God and Nature hath much favoured the *King* of *Denmark* with the command of a Neck of Sea, I mean the *Sound*, for it is the ſtrongeſt Sinew of his Crown by the Tolls he receaves of thoſe who paſs and repaſs into the *Baltik*. He commands alſo *at large* the *Norwegian* or *Hyperborean* Sea. But among all, if we obſerve his *Title*, the *King* of *Portugal* hath a greater Maritime command

then

then all theſe, which Title runs thus: *Dom Manuel por Graca de Deos Rey*, &c. *Senhor de Guinee, & da Conquiſta, Navigacaon, & Comercio d' Etiopia, Arabia, Perſia, & da India à Todos*, &c. Don Emanuel by the Grace of God King, *&c.* Lord of Guiney, and of the Conqueſt, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Perſia, *&c.*

Theſe are the Princes who have moſt command of Sea, but they command only the *Strands* and *Ports*, or Maritime Tract. They cannot be ſaid to command the *Sea it ſelf*, as the *King* of *Great Britain* doth, for he commands no leſs then four Seas, which are circumfluent about his Territories; and the Law ſays, *The Sea is of the Ligeance of the King* as any other thing: He is *Protector* as well as Lord of them: He takes both the *Dominion* and *Defence* of them; alſo he ſcowres and ſecures them from Pyrats and Prædatory Rovers: He makes all ſhips, whether Merchants or Men of War, Forreners or Subjects, to daſh their Colours, and ſtrike their Topſayls not onely to his Caſtles, but to any of his ſhips Royal as they paſs and repaſs. Which mark of Dominion the Republic of *Venice* hath not, though ſhe alſo hath her Gallies always in cours to ſcowre and ſecure the *Gulph* from Curſaries and Robbers, which is one of the chief *Regalia*'s St. *Mark* hath, though the Sea ſhe thus commands be ſcarce 30 Leagues in extent, for it is but fourſcore Italian Miles.

Nor doth the King of *Great Britains* Dominion terminat in his own Seas, but as moſt Civilians hold, it extends as far as the ſhoares of his Tranſmarin Neighbours, and as far North as the Artic Circle: which *Grotius* did once acknowledg, and publiſh to the world (though another Caprichio came into his head afterwards) in the Panegyrike he ſent King *James* at his Inauguration, when he ſays,

——Rerum Natura Creatrix
Diviſit populos, & metas ipſa notavit;
Sic juga Pyrenæ, ſic olim Rhenus, & Aſpes
Imperii menſura fuit. Te flumine nullo
Detinuit, nulla nimboſi vertieis arce,
Sed totum complexa Parens hic terminus ipſa
Subſtitit, atq; uno voluit ſub limite claudi;
Te ſibi ſepoſuit ſupremo in gurgite Nereus;
Finis hic eſt qui ſine caret, Quæ meta Britannis
Littora ſunt aliis, *Regniq; acceſsio tanti eſt*
Quod ventis, velisq; patet——

We will put a period to this Paragraph with a Requeſt to the Reader, That having well weighed the Power of the *King* of *Great Britain*, and joyn'd that of the *Sea* with the *Land*, as alſo the

the Reaſons of the preceding *Paragraph* with this, to judge whether it be fit that *He* ſhold go or come in the *Arriere* to any *King* whatſoever. We will now to the third Paragraph.

Touching the Eminence and Royal Dignity, the State, Grandeur and Titles of the King of Great Britain.

C*Orſetus*, a known and well-accounted Author, divides *Kings* into *Illuſtres*, and *Super-Illuſtres*; He gives the *King* of *England* the ſecond place among the *Super-Illuſtres*; and one of the Reaſons are, that he is an *Anointed King*, whereas the *King* of *Spain* and others are not, unleſs the *King* of *Spain* may claim it as he entitles himſelf *King* of *Jeruſalem* and *Sicily*; for beſides the *Kings* of *England* and *France*, they *two* are onely capable of being *Anointed*. The *King* of *England* hath a Gift alſo to cure the *Strumatical* Diſeaſe, call'd therefore in *England The Kings Evil*, *ab effectu ſanationis*, whereas in French 'tis call'd *Les Ecrouelles*, and *Los Lamperones* in *Spaniſh*, *&c.* Some have written that the *King* of *England* hath a Vertu to cure this Diſeaſe as he is *King* of *France*; but that's a vulgar Error: for *King Edward* the *Confeſſor* was us'd to heal that way, which was 300 years before.

Platina makes the *King* of *England Filium Adoptivum Eccleſiæ*, the Emperour *Filium Primogenitum*, and the French *King Filium natu minorem*; One the Adopted Son, the other the Firſt-born, the third the *Cadet* or younger Son.

Volaterranus is related by *Philippus Honorius* in a well-known Work of his call'd *Praxis Politicæ prudentiæ*, anno 1610. that *Julius* 2. gave the Precedence to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador before him of *Spain*. *Hen.* 2. was *King* of *Jeruſalem*, and *Edward* 3. was made *Perpetuus Vicarius Imperii*, which is no mean Title.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador never queſtioned the Precedence of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador till in the Council of *Baſile*; and touching the Conteſt twixt them in the Council of *Conſtance*, ther was printed at *Louain* Anno 1517. a Book entituled, *Nobiliſsima diſputatio ſuper dignitate & magnitudine Regnorum* Britannici & Gallici *habita ab utriuſq; Oratoribus in Concilio* Conſtantienſi; where you ſee he puts *Britains King* before the *French* in the very Frontiſpice; and the chiefeſt Reaſons aſſerted therein are found in *this Diſcours*.

Hen. 6. employed *Thomas Polden* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, with others, in quality of Ambaſſadors to the Council held at *Siena*, to claim his ſeſſion, otherwiſe he would proteſt, and pourſue the Proteſtation.

In the Raign of *Hen.* 6. ther was a Public Inſtrument put forth

forth by *Ericus* King of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, wherein he puts *England* before *France*; which Inſtrument runs thus: *Caveant omninò Mercatores & alii quicunq; homines & ſubditi Reg. Angliæ & Franciæ ne de cætero ſub pœna amiſsionis vitæ & Bonorum, viſitare præſumant Terras Iſlandiæ, Finmarchiæ, Halghalandiæ, ſeu alias quaſcunq; Terras prohibitas, aut Portus illegales in Regnis* Daniæ, Sueciæ & Norwegiæ. An authentic Copy of this Inſtrument was brought by the *Daniſh* Ambaſſador to *Breme* 1562. and ſhew'd to the Engliſh Delegates there at that time from Queen *Elizabeth* about the great buſineſs of the Hans Towns.

In the Capitulations of Peace twixt *Hen.* 7. of *England*, and *John* 2. of *Denmark* and *Norway* 1490. *England* is put before *France*: as for example: *Sancitum eſt quod Mercatores, & Homines Ligii, Piſcatores & quicunq; alii Reg. Angliæ & Franciæ ſubditi liberè poſsint temporibus futuris in perpetuum ad Inſulam Tyle* i. e. *Iſlandiam*, &c.

Auguſtus de Cavallis, who is no obſcure Author, infers the Queen of *England* from her Anceſtors, both in reſpect of Inheritance, Conqueſt and Gift, to be Queen of *France de Jure*.

In the Treaty twixt *Hen.* the 7. and *Philip* of *Caſtile* 1506. the Engliſh Commiſſioners ſubſign'd firſt. As alſo in the Treaty of Marriage with Queen *Mary*, *Anno* 1533. the firſt Signature is given to the Engliſh Ambaſſadors.

When Queen *Elizabeth* employed the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *James Croſts*, Doctor *Dale*, and Doctor *Rogers* in quality of Ambaſſadors, with their Aſſiſtants to *Oſtend*, *anno* 1588. *Dignitatis Prærogativa & incedendo & ſedendo*, The Prerogative of going and ſitting was given her *Ambaſſadors*.

In the Treaty at *Bullen* twixt *England* and *Spain* for renewing the *Burgundian* League, Queen *Elizabeth* ſent Sir *Hen. Nevil*, Sir *John Herbert*, *Robert Beale* and *Tho. Edmunds*, who in their Inſtructions had command in no caſe to give Precedence to the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors; but being met, ther was a Conteſt happend: The Engliſh produc'd a Certificat procur'd privatly from *Rome* out of the Book of Ceremonies there, which according to the Canon giveth the Rule in ſuch caſes, That the King of *England* is to have place before the King of *Caſtile*; That the Engliſh quietly held this Right in the Councils of *Baſil*, *Conſtance*, and others: They alledg'd alſo that the Kingdom of *Caſtile* (which is the Spaniards firſt Title) is but an upſtart in regard of *England*; for it had no *Kings* but Earls till the year 1017. Moreover, Pope *Julius* 3. gave ſentence for *Hen.* 7. of *England* againſt *Ferdinand* of *Spain* in this particular, *&c.*

Furthermore, for Eminency of *Title*, *Great Britain* is oftentimes calld an *Empire* by Forren Authors; nay, Pope *Urban* terms it a *world* of it ſelf at the Council of *Clermont* almoſt a thouſand

years ſince, wherin the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* is call'd *Alterius Orbis Papa*, The Pope of another World: What wold he ſay now that *Ireland* and *Scotland* are added!

Some of the *Saxon* Kings ſtil'd themſelfs *Emperours*, as *Ego Ethelredus*, *Ego Edgarus Anglorum Induperator*, &c. *William* the Conqueror writ, *Ego Willielmus Rex Anglorum ab incarnatione Domini* 1089. 2 *Anno mei* Imperii. This is found upon record in his Charter to the Monaſtery of *Shaftsbury*.

In *Hen.* 8. Raign, the eighth year thereof, *England* was declar'd an *Empire* in Parlement, where he had alſo theſe Epithets, *Metuendiſſimus*, *Præpotentiſſimus*; and *London* was call'd the *Imperial* Chamber.

But moſt memorable is that of King *Edgar* in the Charter that he gave the Church of *Worceſter*; Which Charter is yet extant, and runs thus:

Altitonantis Dei largifluâ clementiâ, qui eſt Rex Regum, Ego Edgarus Anglorum Baſileus, omniumq; Regum, Inſularum, Oceaniq; Britanniam circumjacentis, cunctarúmq; Nationum quæ infra Eam includuntur Imperator, *& Dominus; Gratias ago ipſi Deo omnipotenti Regi meo qui meum* Imperium *ſic ampliavit, & exaltavit ſuper Regnum Patrum meorum; Qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti ſunt à tempore* Athelſtani, *qui primus Regnum Anglorum & omnes Nationes quæ Britanniam incolunt, ſibi Armis ſubegit, nullus tamen Illorum ultra ejus fines* Imperium *ſuum dilatare aggreſſus eſt. Mihi autem conceſſit propitia Divinitas cum Anglorum* Imperio *omnia Regna Inſularum Oceani cum ſuis ferociſſimis Regibus uſq; Norwegiam, Maximamq; Partem Hiberniæ cum ſua nobiliſſima Civitate Dublinia Anglorum Regno ſubjugare. Quos etiam omnes meis* Imperiis *colla ſubdere, Dei favente gratia, Coegi. Quapropter ut Ego Chriſti Gloriam & laudem in Regno meo exaltare & ejus ſervitutem amplificare devotus diſpoſui, & per meos Fideles Fautores* Dunſtanum *Archiepiſcopum*, Ayeliolanum ac Oſwaldum *Archiepiſcopos quos mihi Patres Spirituales, & Conſiliarios elegi magna ex parte diſpoſui*, &c. *Facta hæc ſunt* anno Dom. 964. *Indictione* 8 *Regni. Ego* Alfrye *Regina conſenſi, & ſigno Crucis confirmavi* ✠.

This being ſo ancient a Record, and of ſo high a Tenure, I thought good to render it into Engliſh for the ſatisfaction of the Common Reader.

"By the clemency of the high-thundring God, who is King "of Kings, I *Edgar* King of the Engliſh, and of all Kings, of I-"lands, and of the Ocean circumjacent to *Britain*, and of all "Nations which are included within her, *Emperour* and Lord; "I give thanks only to Almighty God my King, that he hath

"amplified

"amplified and exalted my Empire above the Kingdome of my "Fathers, who although they had obtain'd the Monarchy of all "*England* from the time of *Athelſtan*, who was the firſt that ſub- "dued the Kingdom of the Engliſh, and all Nations who in- "habit *Britain*, yet none of them attempted to dilate his "Empire beyond its bounds. But propitious Divinity hath "granted unto me to ſubjugat, together with the Empire of the "Engliſh, all the Kingdomes in the Iles of the Ocean, with "their moſt ferocious Kings as far as *Norway*, and moſt part of "*Ireland*, with her moſt Noble City of *Dublin*. All whom I "compell'd to bow their Necks to my Commands, the Grace of "God ſo favouring me, *&c.*

This King *Edgar*, though very *little* of ſtature, was ſo *magnanimous* and ſucceſsful, that he was Row'd upon the River of *Dee* by four ſubjugated *Kings*, whereof *Kennad* King of Scots was one.

Ther is alſo a very remarkable and authentic ſtory of King *Canutus* afterwards, who being upon *Southampton-Strand* at the flowing of the *Sea*, he ſate in a Chair of *State* which was brought him upon the ſands; and the Billows toſſing and tumbling towards him, he gave the *Sea* this command: *Thou art my Subject, and the Earth wheron I ſit is mine, and ther was none yet that ever reſiſted my Command who went unpuniſh'd: Therefore I command Thee that Thou come not up upon my Earth, nor preſume to wet the Garment, or the Body of thy Lord.* But the *Sea* continuing his cours, daſh'd and wetted his feet and thighs illfavouredly, without any reverence or fear: whereupon the *King* ſtepping back, declar'd, *That none is worthy of the Name of a King, but only He whoſe Nod both Sea and Earth obſerv'd.* And, as the ſtory hath it, he never wore the Crown of Gold again, but being fix'd to a Croſs, did conſecrat it to the Image of our *Saviour*.

Ther have been alſo *Titles* of Dignity given to our *Kings* in the *Abſtract*, (which hath more of *State* and *Subſtance* in it then the *Concret*) as *Celſitudo Tua*, *Magnitudo Tua*, given by the Pope in his Letters to *Ed.* 2. And *Edward* the 4. was us'd to write, *Noſtra Regia Majeſtas*; though indeed that word *Majeſtas* began firſt in *France*, but in *Hen.* 2. Raign, (and *ſacra Majeſtas* ſince.) Therefore Pope *Leo* gave it *betimes* to *Hen.* 8. in that famous Charter he ſent him, when he commanded all Chriſtians, that in their Directions to him for the future, after the word *King*, they ſhold ſtile him *Defender of the Faith*. Which great Charter ſign'd by the Pope and 27 Cardinals, 1521. I thought proper and worthy to inſert here, having procur'd a faithful Copy from the very *Original*.

Leo

Leo *Episcopus servus servorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo Filio Henrico Angliæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, Salutem, & Apostolicam benedictionem. Cum supernæ dispositionis arbitrio, licet imparibus meritis, Universalis Ecclesiæ regimini præsidentes ad hoc cordis nostri longè lateq; diffundimus cogitatus ut Fides Catholica sine qua nemo proficit ad salutem continuum suscipiat incrementum. Et ut ea quæ pro cohibendis conatibus illam deprimere, aut pravis, mendacibusq; commentis pervertere, & denigrare molientium sana Christi Fidelium præsertim Dignitate Regali fulgentium Doctrina sunt dispositа continuis proficiant incrementis partes nostri Ministerii, & operam impendimus efficaces. Et sicut alii Romani Pontifices Prædecessores nostri Catholicos Principes, prout Rerum & temporum qualitas exigebat, specialibus favoribus prosequi consueverunt, Illos præsertim qui procellosis temporibus, & rabida Scismaticorum & Hæreticorum fervente perfidia, solùm in Fidei serenitate, & devotione illibata sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ immobiles perstiterunt; Verum etiam tanquam ipsius Ecclesiæ legitimi Filii ac fortissimi Athletæ Scismaticorum & Hereticorum insanis furoribus spiritaliter & temporaliter se opposuerunt.*

Ita etiam nos Majestatem Tuam propter Excelsa & immortalia erga nos, & hanc sanctam sedem in qua Divina permissione sedemus, opera & gesta condignis & immortalibus præconiis ac laudibus efferre desideramus, ac Ea sibi concedere propter quæ invigilare debeat à grege Dominico lupos arcere, & putrida membra quæ mysticum Christi Corpus inficiunt, ferro & materiali gladio abscindere, & nutantium corda fidelium in Fidei soliditate confirmare.

Sanè cum nuper dilectus Filius Johannes Clerk Majestatis Tuæ apud nos Orator in Consistorio nostro coram venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalibus, & compluribus aliis Romanæ Curiæ Prælatis Librum *quem Majestas Tua Charitate quæ omnia sedulò, & nihil perperam agit, Fideiq; Catholicæ zelo accensa, ac devotionus Erga nos & Hanc sanctam sedem fervore inflammata contra Errores diversorum Hæreticorum sæpius ab hac sancta sede damnatos, nuperq; per Martinum Lutherum suscitatos, & innovatos, tanquam nobile & salutare quoddam Antidotum composuit, nobis examinandum, ac deinde Authoritate* nostra *approbandum obtulisset, ac luculenta oratione sua exposuisset, Majestatem tuam paratam ac dispositam esse, ut quemadmodum veris rationibus, ac irrefragabilibus sacræ Scripturæ ac Sanctorum Patrum authoritatibus, notorios Errores ejusdem Martini confutaverat: ita etiam omnes eos sequi, & defensare præsumentes totius Regni sui viribus, & Armis persequatur, nosq; ejus* Libri *admirabilem quandam, & Cœlestis gratiæ rore conspersam Doctrinam diligenter, accurateq; introspeximus, Omnipotenti Deo à quo omne Datum optimum, & omne Donum perfectum est, immensas gratias Egimus qui optimam, & ad omne bonum inclinatam mentem tuam inspirare, eiq; tantam gratiam supernè infundere dignatus fuerit ut ea scriberes quibus sanctam ejus Fidem contra novum errorum damnatorum*

hujusmodi

hujuſmodi ſuſcitatorem defenderes, & reliquos Reges & Principes Chriſtianos Tuo exemplo invitares, ut & ipſi etiam Orthodoxæ Fidei & veritatis Evangelicæ veritati in periculum & diſcrimen adductæ omni ope ſua adeſſe, oportunéq; favere vellet. Æquum autem eſſe conſentes Eos qui pro Fidei Chriſti hujuſmodi defenſione pios labores ſuſceperunt omni laude, & honore afficere, volenteſq; non ſolùm ea quæ Majeſtas Tua contra eundem Martinum Lutherum abſolutiſsmâ Doctrinâ, nec minori Eloquentiâ ſcripſit condignis laudibus Extollere, ac Magnificare, Autoritateq; noſtra approbare & confirmare, ſed etiam Majeſtatem ipſam Tuam tali honore ac titulo decorare, ut noſtris ac perpetuis futuris temporibus Chriſti Fideles omnes intelligant quam gratum acceptumq; nobis fuerit Majeſtatis Tuæ Munus, hoc præſertim tempore nobis oblatum.

Nos qui Petri quem Chriſtus in Cœlum aſcenſurus Vicarium ſuum in Terris reliquit, & cui curam ſui Gregis reliquit, veri ſucceſſores ſumus, & in Hac ſancta ſede à qua omnes Dignitates ac Tituli emanant, ſedemus, habita ſuper hiis cum iiſdem Fratribus noſtris matura deliberatione de eorum unanimi conſilio & aſſenſu Majeſtati Tuæ Titulum Hunc, viz. Fidei Defenſorem, *&c. Et profectò Hujus Tituli excellentia, & dignitate ac ſingularibus meritis Tuis diligenter perpenſis & conſideratis, Nullum neq; dignius, neq; Majeſtati Tuæ convenientius nomen excogitare potuiſſemus, quod quoties audies ac leges, toties propriæ virtutis optimiq; meriti Tui recordaberis. Nec hujuſmodi Titulo intumeſces, vel in ſuperbiam elevaberis, ſed ſolita Tua prudentia humilior, & in Fide Chriſti ac devotione hujus ſanctæ ſedis à qua exaltatus fueris, fortior, & conſtantior evades, ac in Domino bonorum omnium Largitore lætaberis perpetuum hoc ac immortale Gloriæ Tuæ Monumentum* Poſteris Tuis relinquere, *Illiſq; viam oſtendere, ut ſi Tali titulo ipſi quoq; inſigniri optabunt Talia etiam opera efficere præclaraq; Majeſtatis Tuæ veſtigia ſequi ſtudeant, quam prout de nobis & dictâ ſede optimè merita unà cum Uxore & Filiis, ac omnibus qui à Te, & ab illis naſcentur noſtra Benedictione in nomine Illius à quo illam concedendi poteſtas data eſt, larga & liberali manu benedicentes Altiſſimum Illum qui dixit* Per me Reges regnant & Principes imperant, & in cujus manu corda ſunt Regum, *Rogamus, ac obſecramus ut eam in ſuo ſancto propoſito confirmet, ejuſq; devotionem multiplicet, & præclaris pro ſancta Fide geſtis ita illuſtret, ac toti Orbi Terrarum conſpicuam reddat, ut Judicium quod de Ipſa fecimus, eam tam inſigni Titulo decorantes, à nemine falſum aut vanum judicari poſſit. Demùm mortalis hujus vitæ finito curriculo ſempiternæ illius Gloriæ conſortem atq; participem reddat.*

Dat. Romæ *apud ſanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo, quingenteſimo viceſimo primo, 5 Idus Octobris, Pontificatus noſtri anno nono.*

Ego Leo Chriſt. Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus *ſ.*

Then his Seal or Signet, engraven within, *Sanctus Petrus*, ✠ *Sanctus Paulus*; and this Motto about, *Ad Dominum cùm tribularer clamavi, & Exaudivit Me.*

Then the ſubſcription of 27 Cardinals on both ſides of the Signet, the Cardinal-*Biſhops* on the right-hand of the Signet, and cloſe to it; then on their right-hand the *Prieſts*-Cardinals; and on the left ſide of the Signet (as it is accuſtomed in all Bulls, and other Public Inſtruments) the *Deacon*-Cardinals have their place, and precedence.

King *Henry*'s Book againſt *Luther* was preſented to the Pope in full Conſiſtory by Sir *John Clerk*, (then Ambaſſador at *Rome* for the King) with a long ſolemn Oration: the Original of which Book is yet to be ſeen in the Vatican at *Rome*, with this Inſcription written with King *Henries* own hand:

Anglorum Rex Henricus Leoni X. *mittit Hoc Opus, & Fidei teſtem, & Amicitiæ.*

Henry King of the Engliſh ſends this Work to *Leo* the Tenth, as a Witneſs both of Faith and Friendſhip.

And as the Kings of *England* themſelfs have ſuch ſuper-eminent Titles, ſo their *Firſt-born Sons* have a Title not inferior to any *Royal* Heir apparent in *Chriſtendome*, which is *Prince of Wales*; and this Title is many years more ancient then that of *Dauphin* in *France*. Moreover, whereas other Kings *Sons* come ſo naked to the world that they have not of their own wherewith to buy them Clouts, or pay their Nurſes, but what they have from their Parents, The Firſt-born of the King of *England*, *ipſiſsimo inſtante*, the very ſame inſtant that he is born, is Duke of *Cornwal*, and is preſuppoſ'd by the Law to have Livery and Seiſin then given him of the ſaid Duchy, with all the Lands, Rents and Honors therunto annex'd. Tis tru, that the conferring of the Title of *Prince of Wales*, depends meerly upon the Kings *Pleſure*, which was done out of a Political conſideration, to keep the Kings firſt Sons ſtill in awe, and within the bounds of a greater Obedience.

Nor is there any Queen alſo lives in a greater State and Dignity, or hath more Prerogatives and greater Joyntures then the Queen of *England*: For though *Aliens* at firſt, and ſtill under *Couvert Baron*, yet they may pourchaſe Lands by Fee-ſimple, They may make Leaſes and Grants without the King; They alſo muſt be

be petitiond unto firſt, before any can implead them in point of right.

We will proceed now to the fourth Paragraph.

Touching the Martial Exploits and Achievments which the Kings of Great Britain *have performed from time to time*, &c.

TO proceed in this Paragraph, we muſt make *Retroſpects* a far off: we will begin with *Brennus* that bold *Britain*, who in the Goverment of Conſuls took and ſack'd *Rome*, (364 yeers before Chriſt) and did notable feats afterwards in *Greece* and *Aſia*: inſomuch that the Welch in honour of that *Heroe* their Country-man, call a King from his Name *Brenin* to this day. *Cataracus* overthrew a mighty Army of the Romanes, and *Boadicia* ſlew 70 thouſand of them in one Battel, as their own ſtories declare. King *Arthur* is rank'd among the Nine Worthies, for he diſcomfited the *Saxons* in twelve ſeveral Battails, and erected the firſt Order of *Knighthood*.

There was one *Engliſh King*, and three *Kings Sons* went to the Wars of the Holy Land. What Exploits did *Richard cœur de Lion* perform there, ſo much to the envy of the *King* of *France*, who therfore returnd before him! He conquerd the Iland of *Cyprus*, where Marrying *Berengaria*, he transferrd the Kingdome to *Guy Luſignan*, who had right to the Crown of *Jeruſalem*, which in exchange he reſignd to King *Richard*.

But the *French* are they whom the *Engliſh* did ſo often rout, ſubdue and ſubjugat with the Grey-gooſe Wing, wherwith they did ſo often penetrat the very heart of *France* in ſo many glorious Victories that can be hardly paralleld, take all circumſtances. We will inſtance in ſome of the moſt famous, and begin with that of *Creſſy* the firſt great Battel.

The Battail of Creſſy *in* France.

That Heroyk King *Edward* the third, having been provoked by divers Affronts that *Philip* of *Valois* the French King had offer'd him, goes over in perſon to *France* with an Army of 80000 men at Arms, and 10000 Archers, as *Froiſſard* hath it. He takes with him his *Son* the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *Guyenne*, being but 15 years of Age, (calld afterwards the *Black Prince*) to train him up in feats of Arms. Landing in *Normandy* he carries all the *Country* before him as far as *Poiſſy*, within ten miles of *Paris*, and after divers *Skirmiges* a Battail was appointed. King *Edward* had incamp'd neer a Village calld *Creſſy*, where he divided

ded his Army to three Battalions; the first was led by the *Prince of Wales*, the second by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton*, in the third was the *King* himself. The Battail thus orderd, being mounted upon a White Hobby, he rides from Rank to Rank, encouraging evry man to the performance of his duty, and to have a regard to the Honor of his King and Country. The French *Kings* Army was at least twice the number, consisting of above 60000 Combatants, with all the flower of the French Chivalry, whereof the chief were the Duke of *Alanson* the *Kings* Brother, the *King* of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Flanders* and *Savoy*, with other great Princes. The Vangard was led by the *Kings* Brother, the Reer by the Earl of *Savoy*, the main Battail by the *King* himself. The *French King* was so fierce in assurance of Victory, that he wold scarce admit of any counsel. The old *King* of *Boheme* advis'd that the Army shold receive some refreshment before, and that the Infantry of *Genowais*, whereof ther were 15000 Crosbows, shold make the first Front, and the Cavalry to follow: which being agreed on, the Duke of *Alanson* did stomack that the *Genowais* shold have the honor of the first Rank; so in a kind of fury he caus'd them to change place: which bred such a discontent, that they were more incensd against their *Leader* then against the *Enemy*; but in the interim ther fell such a showre of Rain that wetted their *Bowstrings*, which they had not the wit to cover all the while, (as the English did) that for the limmerness therof when they came to action they grew useless. At the ceasing of the showre the Sun did shine full in the face of the *French*, therby dazzling their eyes, but on the back of the *English*. *King Edward* being got into a Windmil all the while, whence as from a Sentinel he might explore and behold the face of the Enemy, and discovering the disturbance that was made because the *Genowais* were put to change their place, instantly gave order to charge that part, which made the discontented *Genoway* to recoyl. *Alenson* perceiving this, rides on in a rage, crying out, *Sa, sa; on, on; let's make way ore the Bellies of these* Genowais, *for they do but hinder us.* So riding through them, he came up to the *English* Battail, where the young Prince was. The fight grew hot, and doubtful, insomuch that the Commanders sent to the *King* to come up with more power: The *King* asking the Messengers, *Whether his Son was hurt or slain*, and being answerd *No*, he replies, *Then tell them who sent you, that so long as my Son is alive they send no more to me, for my will is that he have the honor of the day.* So the fight on both sides growing very furious, the French *King* having his Horse kill'd under him, withdrew; which being known by the *English*, it added so to their courage that they soon after won the Field. This was the first considerable Battail the English had of the French,

French, which was ſo ſanguinary, that ther were none made *Priſoners*, but all put to the Sword, and the number of the ſlain *French* ſurmounted the whole Army of the Engliſh; for the number of the ſlain were about 30000. the chief whereof was *Alenſon* the Kings Brother, the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Lorain*, the Earl of *Flanders*, the *Dauphin de Viennois*, Son to *Imbert*, who after gave *Dauphine* to the King of *France*, provided his *Firſt Son* ſhold ſtill be calld the *Dauphin*, which hath continued ever ſince. This ſignal Victory was ſeconded the ſame yeer, about ſix weeks after, with another the Queen of *England* got againſt the *Scots*, then confederat with the *French*, where *David* the Scots King was taken Priſoner: but this is reſerv'd for another place, becauſe for a more methodical order we will haſten to the ſecond great Victory in *France*, the Battail of *Poitiers*.

The Battail of Poitiers.

The *Black Prince* being taperd up now to a good growth, was ſent by advice of Parlement to *Gaſcony*; whence the Truce being expird, he oreran and ravagd all the Country as far as *Tourayne*. *John* the French King raiſeth a potent Army, more numerous then that at *Creſſy*; and going to find out the *Prince of Wales*, found him about *Poitiers*, having not much above 10000 effectif men in his Army, wheras the *French* had ſix times as many: whereupon being adviſd to make for *Bourdeaux*, he was prevented by the *French* Army on all ſides; ſo a Battail being intended, two Cardinals came from the *Pope* to mediat a Peace, but the *French* King wold hearken to none, unleſs that he wold as a Vanquiſh'd Man ſend him four Hoſtages, and give up himſelf and his Army to diſcretion. The *Prince* anſwerd, That he was willing to reſtore what places he had taken of *His* in good War, but without prejudice to his *Honor*, wherof he was accountable to the King his Father, *&c.* *John* not hearkning to this, but being reſolvd to fight, the *Prince* alſo reſolvd to part with his Life upon as high a rate as he could being reduced to this ſtreight; therfore he providently makes uſe of the Poſition of ground; and finding that the main Army of the *French* conſiſted in *Horſe*, he entrenchd among the Vineyards; where when the *French* Cavalry entred, being wrapd and encomberd among the Vines, the *Engliſh* Archers did ſo ply and gall them, that, being therby diſorderd and put to rout, the whole Army was ſoon totally defeated. But, it ſeems this *Battail* was not ſo fierce as that of *Creſſy*, where no quarter was given: for in *this*, Priſoners were made, among whom was King *John* himſelf, whom the Prince brought to *England*; and, as the *French* Hiſtorians themſelfs confeſs, he was ſo civil to him all the while, that he knew not whether he

was a *Free King* or a *Captif*. Beſides *Lords*, ther were ſlain 2000 of the *French* Nobleſs, as *Froiſſard* hath it, in this Battail; and, as at *Creſſy*, more *French* ſlain then the whole *Engliſh* Army was in number. We will now to *Agencourt*.

Agencourt-*Battail*.

Henry the Fifth, that Man of men and mirror of Princes, being come to the Crown; he did caſt his Eyes preſently towards *France* for claiming of his Title. In order wherunto, he alterd in his Arms the bearing of *Semy de Luces*, and quarters the three full *Flower de Luces* as the King of *France* himſelf did bear them. He ſends the Duke of *Exceter*, with the *Archbiſhop of Dublin*, and ſundry other Noble men, in a magnificent *Ambaſſy*, attended by 500 Horſe, to *Paris*, to demand the Crown: but receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, but rather a kind of jeer, the *Dauphin* ſending him a Sack full of Racket-court-Balls to paſs away his time; He replyed, That for evry one of thoſe Balls, he had ſo many fiery Bullets to ſhoot at the proudeſt Turrets in *France*, as he ſhold ſhortly find. And he was as good as his word: for he preſently got over, and encountring the French *Army* at *Agencourt*, he gave it an utter overthrow, and took more priſoners then his own Army had Soldiers; which was upon a Sunday-morning about Ten of the Clock: whereof having ſent notice to *England* before, and that extraordinary Maſſes ſhold be ſung then in all Churches, he ſtood upon the *defenſive* part till that hour; but then making a Speech of encouragement to his Army, and among other ſtrains, telling how *all England was praying for them at that time*, he carried away a compleat Victory; he himſelf leading the main Battail with the Duke of *Gloceſter* his Brother, *&c.* But beſides the foreſaid *Piety*, ther was *Policy* alſo uſd; for the King, to prevent the fury of the *French* Cavalry, appointed divers Stakes ſtudded with Iron at both ends of ſix foot long, to be pitch'd behind the Archers, and ordred that Pioners ſhold attend to remove them as they ſhold be directed: which invention conduc'd much to the ſucceſs of the Action. The King himſelf charg'd the Duke of *Alenſon*, and beat him off his Horſe, who therupon was ſlain; ſo ther was a compleat and glorious Victory obtain'd.

We come now to the Battail of *Spurs*, ſo calld becauſe the French-men truſted more to their *Spurs* in fleeing away, then to their *Swords* and *Lances*. It was before *Terwin* in *Hen.* 8. Raign, when *Maximilian* the Emperour ſervd under his Banner, and receavd pay. Ther came 8000 *French* Horſe to relieve the place, and a hot Diſpute happend; but they were all routed, and put ſhamefully

shamefully to flight, so the Town was taken by the *English*.

Ther were a world of other Warlike Encounters and Skirmiges twixt the *English* and *French*, whereof the stories are full; and tis observd, that the *English* at most were but half in number to the *French* in all Engagements; insomuch that by pure prowess and point of the Sword they possessd two parts in three of that great Kingdome. We read that when the *English* were at the height of their power in *France*, the *Pope* came then to keep his Court at *Avignon*; and ther was a common saying among the People, which since is grown to be a kind of *Proverb*, *Ores le Pape est devenu Francois, & Jesus Christ est devenu Anglois*; The Pope is turnd French-man, and Jesus Christ is become an English-man: which was spoken in regard we had such prodigious Successes.

Before I part with *France* at present, tis very fit (the main subject of this Work being of *Precedence*) to speak something of the *Black Prince* while he was Governor of *Aquitane*, where he performd such notable Exploits; and among other, of that famous Charter of *Precedence* which was given to the Crown of *England* by *Don Pedro* King of *Castile*, who being detruded out of the Throne by *Henry* his younger Brother, fled for succour to the *Black Prince* in *Gascognie*, who had at that time two other Kings in his Court, *viz.* *Ricaredo* King of *Navarre*, and Don *Jayme* King of *Mallorca*. Which Charter being yet upon Authentique Record, and not specified in the story of either Nations, may very well deserve to be inserted here; and it runs thus.

Petrus *Dei gratia Rex* Castellæ *&* Legionis, *omnibus præsentibus pariter, & futuris præsentes literas inspecturis, lecturis aut audituris salutem, & fidem plenariam iisdem adhibere.*

Cum in largitione, donatione, & concessione privilegiorum, libertatum, franquesiarum, ac honorum Prærogativa, illis nos liberales, & gratiosiores reddere debeamus à quibus multiplicia beneficia & honores nos recognoscimus recepisse; Cumq; Illustrissimus Rex Angliæ, & Edoardus ejus primogenitus Princeps Aquitaniæ & Walliæ consanguinei nostri nos & prædecessores nostros Reges Castellæ retroactis temporibus fuerint favorabiliter prosecuti, & specialiter cùm nuper per Henricum quondam Comitem de Trestamare qui factâ cum quibusdam suis Complicibus coadunatione Regna nostra invasit, usurpavit, & etiam occupavit more prædonico, & hostili, & ea indebitè detinet occupata de Regno in regnum, & de Dominio in Dominium, & loco ad locum ad mortem nos esset insecutus à qua persecutione per receptationem dicti Dom. Principis in Terra sua de nobis factam fuerimus liberati, & per ipsum & gentes suas comfortati, ac honorabiliter recepti, & tractati, Nos memores dicti accepti beneficii, & in aliqualem præmissorum Recompensationem, & alias de nostra certa scientia, speciali dono, & regia

regia donatione, & poteſtate damus & concedimus pro nobis, hæredibus & ſucceſſoribus noſtris Regibus Caſtellæ per præſentes dicto Illuſtriſſimo Regi Angliæ, & Edoardo ejus Primogenito Principi Aquitaniæ & Walliæ, Quòd quandocunq; idem Rex & ejus Primogenitus qui nunc ſunt, aut eorum Hæredes & ſucceſſores Reges Angliæ, & eorum Primogeniti qui pro tempore fuerint, voluerint venire in propria perſona ad Guerram quam nos habebimus, aut Hæredes noſtri Reges Caſtellæ habebunt contra Regem Granatæ, aut alios Fidei inimicos, quod iidem Reges, & eorum Primogeniti habeant primum bellum *ſive* la Delantera *ante omnes Mundi Chriſtianos, & omni tempore. Ita tamen quod Nos poſſimus & Hæredes noſtri Reges Caſtellæ ſi voluerimus ponere vexilla noſtra in dicto bello pariter cum vexillis Regis Angliæ, vel Ipſius Primogeniti. Item quod ſi contigerit dictos Reges, aut eorum Primogenitos ad Guerram quam Nos & Hæredes noſtri habebimus contra Regem Granatæ, aut Alios Fidei inimicos non venire, aut nolle, vel non poſſe venire, volumus & concedimus quòd unum vexillum de Armis Regis Angliæ ſit omni tempore in dicta guerra in primo bello, ſive in la Delantera honorificè prout decet noſtris, & ſucceſſorum noſtrorum Caſtellæ regum propriis ſumptibus & expenſis.*

Item quia Patria ejuſdem noſtri Conſanguinei plurima damna, & expenſa innumerabilia ſuſtinuit tempore quo ipſe pro noſtro ſuccurſu exercitus ſuos congregabat prout oculis propriis conſpeximus, licet flebiliter gereremus, in recompenſationem præmiſſorum, privilegiamus, volumus, & concedimus quòd omnes homines, incolæ, nobiles, peregrini, cujuſcunq; ſtatus, ſexus aut conditionis exiſtant, Regni, Patriæ, & dominii Angliæ, & principatus Aquitaniæ ſint immunes ab omni pedagio, leuda, coſtuma, maletota, ceu aliis quibuſcunq; Impoſitionibus, Exactionibus in Regnis noſtris impoſitis, ſeu in poſterùm imponendis. Ita quòd dicti homines dictorum Regni, Patriæ, & Dominii Angliæ, & Principatus Aquitaniæ tranſeundo, morando, & redeundo per Regna noſtra per mare vel per terram, Coſtumam, Pedagium, Leudam, Maletotam, ſeu quamcunq; aliam Impoſitionem vel Exactionem minimè ſolvere teneantur, niſi dicti homines causâ Mercimonii vel pro emercimiando aliquid emerent. Super quo an cauſa Mercimoniandi empta exiſtant nec ne, per officiarios noſtros, & receptorum dictorum pedagiorum ſtare volumus dictorum hominum juramenta de quibus rebus cauſa Mercimoniandi emptis non compellantur ſolvere, nec aliquid ultra ab iis exigatur quam cæteri Mercatores ſolvere conſueverunt. Et juramus ad Sancta Dei Evangelia à nobis corporaliter manu tacta & in verbo promittimus Regio conceſſiones, donationes, privilegia prædicta, & omnia & ſingula in præſentibus Litteris contenta tenere, complere, & inviolabiliter obſervare.

In quorum & ſingulorum Præmiſſorum teſtimonium, & ad ipſorum Majorem firmitatem his præſentibus Nos manu propria Subſcripſimus, & iiſdem ſigillum noſtrum in pendenti duximus apponendum: Volentes, & concedentes ac etiam requirentes vos Magiſtrum Johannem

nem de London publicum Autoritate Apoſtolicâ Notarium quatenus ad perpetuam omnium & ſingulorum præmiſſorum memoriam vos cum præſentibus teſtibus ſubſcribatis, præſenteſq; Literas ſigno veſtro ſolito conſignetis. Datum apud Liborniam Dioceſi Burdegalenſis die 23 Menſis Jbris Anno Dom. 1366. Præſentibus præchariſſimo Conſanguineo noſtro Domino Johanne Duce Lancaſtriæ, Regis Angliæ filio ac fratre dicti principis, & Reverendis in Chriſto Patribus Dom. Helia Archiepiſcopo Burdegalenſi, Dom. Barnardo Epiſcopo Xancton. Johanne Electo Bathonienſi, & Wellenſi Cancellario Aquitaniæ, Johanne Shandos Conſtabulario, & Thoma de Felton ſeneſcallo Aquitaniæ, Nigello de Loereyn Camerario dicti Principis, Balboyno de Frevilla ſeneſcallo Xancton. & aliis teſtibus ad præmiſſa.

Yo el Rey.

I the King.

Et Ego Johannes de London Cler. Winton. Dioceſis publicus Authoritate Apoſtolica Notarius undecima die menſis Februarii anno Dom. ſupradicto, Indictione quinta, Pontificatus ſanctiſſimi in Chriſtro Patris, & Domini noſtri Dom. Urbani divina providentia Papæ quinti anno quinto infra caſtrum Civitatis Baionæ in capella ejuſdem caſtri unà cum teſtibus infraſcriptis fui præſens quando dictus Dom. Rex Petrus promiſſa omnia & ſingula innovavit, confirmavit, & juramento ſuo vallavit tangendo propriis manibus ſuis ſancta Dei Evangelia, & quando ipſe Rex manu ſua propria ſe ſubſcripſit, & me requiſivit, & mandavit ut præſentibus Literis me ſubſcriberem, & ſignum meum apponerem conſuetum. Teſtes qui fuerunt præſentes ad iſta unà mecum ſunt Dom. frater Martinus Lupi Magiſter Militiæ Domus de Alcantara Ordinis Ciſtern. Rogerus Dom. de la Wara, Gomeicus dicti Dom. Regis Magiſter, Paulus Gabrielis Civis Iſpalenſis. Johannes Guttern Decanus Eccleſiæ Segobien, & Magiſter Robertus Fregand Notarius Cancellarius Domini Principis Aquitaniæ & Walliæ ſupradicti.

Then the Great Seal of *Caſtile* and *Leon* was affixd.

By vertue of this Charter legally made to King *Edward*, and the Prince his Son, and to their Heirs and Succeſſors Kings and Princes of *England* for ever, it is therby granted that whenſoever it ſhold pleaſe them to be in perſon in the Wars with any *King* of *Caſtile*, againſt the *King* of Granada, or any other Enemy of the Chriſtian Faith, *They* ſhold have the *Firſt* place in the Vangard above all other Princes of Chriſtendom; and although neither of them were *preſent*, yet ther ſhold be always provided by the *Kings* of *Caſtile* and their Succeſſors a *Standard* of the Arms of *England* to be born in the ſame place.

This Inſtrument was made after that the *Black Prince* had done

the Work, and reſtord *Don Pedro* to his Kingdom: therfore he paſſd it as a Monument of eternal Gratitude unto him.

But before the Prince undertook the buſineſs, ther was alſo a Bond from the *King* to pay ſo much money for defraying the Princes Army; and in conſideration alſo of this undertaking, it was legally agreed that the Prince ſhold have the Caſtle of *Vermeo*, *de la Quet*, *Bilbo*, *Biſcay*, and the Caſtle of *Ordials*, *A tenir perpetuellement à li & ſes Heirs & Succeſſeurs, & pour doner là où luy plerrà*, to be held perpetually by Him and his Heirs and Succeſſors, and to give to whom he pleaſd. All which was ratified under the Great Seal of *Caſtile*, and confirmd by Oath upon the holy Sacrament in the great Church of *Burgos*. The Original of which Inſtrument remains yet in *Theſ. Regio apud Weſtm.*

We will paſs over the Exploits done in *Armorica* or Little *Britany*, and croſs over to a tougher Peeple the *Scot*, who though Conterranean, and our neer Neighbours, yet they did always confederat with the *French* againſt *England*, and *England* ſtill boar up ſingle and victoriouſly againſt both of them: For when *Scotland* was at the higheſt pitch of power, when ſhe had active and boyſterous *Kings* to her Generals, and the *French* for her Coadjutors and Auxiliaries, as alſo the *Danes* in Ages paſt, yet the Engliſh carried away many fair Victories, with divers of their Kings *Priſoners*. As will appear by a ſhort Survay we ſhall take of ſuch Battails and Warlike Encounters which intervend from time to time twixt the two Nations.

We will begin with that famous Battail twixt King *Athelſtan* and *them*, when they had a great Army of *Danes* joynd with them, and being twice in number more then the Engliſh, yet King *Athelſtan* obtaind a ſignal Victory both by Proweſs and Policy; for the two Armies being ready to joyn, the Engliſh made ſemblance to flee away, leaving their Bagage behind; which as the *Scot* and *Dane* were a ſharing, the Engliſh did ſuddenly wheele about by the advantage of a Woody Hill, and finding them in diſarray, and laden with Booty, they ruſhd upon them with ſuch a Reſolution, that above 40 thouſand of them, and, as *Buchanan* their chief Chronologer hath it, the flower of their Nobility, periſhd there at that time.

The firſt Fire-ball of War which was thrown twixt both the Nations ſince the Norman Invaſion, was in *William Rufus* his Raign, when the *Scot* having made divers Incurſions into the *Engliſh* Borders, *Moubray* Earl of *Northumberland* was ſent againſt them, who incountring their King *Malcolm* with his eldeſt Son in the Field, they were both ſlain, and the whole Army overthrown.

In King *Stephens* days, *Thurſton* then Archbiſhop of *York*, was ſent with an Army againſt the *Scot*, who meeting the *King* himſelf

ſelf in the head of his Forces, utterly routed him, with the death of above 10000 of his Men.

Henry the ſecond employd only the Knights of *Yorkſhire*, as, *Humphry-vile*, *Scuttvil*, and *Veſcy*, to make head againſt the *Scot*, which they did with ſuch Valour and Succeſs, that they took the *King* in the Field; and as a Trophy of their good Service and Victory, they preſented him Priſoner to the *King* at *Northampton*, whence he carried him along to attend him in his French VVars.

William the *Scots King* attended *Richard* the *Lion-hearted* at his ſecond Coronation when he returned from the Holy Land, and carried the *Sword* before him bare-headed.

Edward the firſt, calld in ſtory, and as his Tomb in *Weſtminſter* tells us, *Scotorum Malleus*, the Hammer of the *Scots*, ſummond King *Baliol* to *Newcaſtle* to ſwear Fealty unto him: but fleeing afterwards to the *French King*, at his return King *Edward* ſummons him again to *Berwick*, where he re-ſubmitted himſelf with all his Nobles in open Parlement, which King *Edward* held there; and for Caution brought *Baliol* along with him, leaving the Earl of *Surrey* Warden of *Scotland*. Then ſtarted up a notable Blade, one *Wallis*, who notwithſtanding that King *Baliol* was Priſoner in *England*, gatherd ſuch a ſtrength, that cauſd *King Edward* to go again in perſon, and at *Fonkirk* Battail killd outright 200 of their *Nobles* and Gentry, with about forty thouſand Common ſoldiers. Then he ſummons a Parlement at *Edinburgh*, where all the *Scots* Nobles ſwore Fealty to him; and then he carried away thence their Great Charter, calld the *Ragman-Roll*, the *Black-Croſs*, and the *Stone*, wherein they believe the Fate of *Scotland* is fixd. Then ther was a third Provocation offer'd, for *le Bruce* was crownd *King* of *Scotland*, wherupon the Earl of *Pembrook* was ſent againſt him, who utterly defeated him at *Johnſton*: yet all was not quiet, but *King Edward* was forcd to make a *fourth* expedition thither in perſon, when he conſtraind *le Bruce* to flee away to *Norway*, where he blew on his Nayls while *King Edward* liv'd. But *Bruce* being come back, and *uſurping* during *Edward* the ſeconds time, (who we read was ſo infirm and infortunat a *King*) his Father *Edward* the third reſtord *Baliol* by force of Arms, and made him ſwear Fealty to *England* again. But ſome yeers after King *Edward* being deeply engagd in the French Wars, *David* the next Scots King ruſh'd into *England* with about ſixty thouſand men, being confederat with the French King to divert the War there. But Queen *Philippa*, with the Archbiſhop of *York*, and the Lords and Knights of the North, encounterd this huge Army, and utterly defeated it, one *Copland* taking the *Scots King* Priſoner, whom he he reſervd for a preſent to give *King Edward* when he came from *France*, and to keep company

with

with *John* the *French King*, who also was taken Prisoner by the *Black Prince*: And there were but six weeks difference of time twixt both Victories.

In *Richard* the seconds Raign, the *French King* sent his High Admiral, with a thousand choice men at Arms, in a Fleet of 60 Sayl of Ships, with Arms for 12000 men more into *Scotland*. Therupon an English Army being raisd, it struck into *Scotland* like a Whirlwind, and piercing the very heart of the Country, advancd as far as *Dundee*, and returnd Victorious.

Henry the Fifth took *James* the first Prisoner, and carried him over to attend him in his French VVars.

In *Hen.* 8. time, the *Scots* King (although his Brother-in-Law) taking his advantage when he was in *France*, battring the Walls of *Bullen*, with the flower of the English Nobility, raisd the greatest Army that *Scotland* could make for invading *England*; therupon King *Harry* sent a Commission to the Earl of *Surrey* to raise Forces accordingly. The two Armies met at *Flodden*-field, where the *Scots* King and the Archbishop of Saint *Andrews* his Brother were slain, with twelve Earls, 14 Barons, and 12000 more. Not long after *Solmosse* Battail was fought, where eight Scots Earls were taken Prisoners, with 200 Gentlemen and others: insomuch that as the story saith, ther was never an English soldier but had his couple of Scots Prisoners.

Four and thirty yeers after, the same day both of the month and the week, (as the Historians observe) *Musselborough*-Battail was fought; which because it was the last, and one of the most signal and sanguinary great Battails from the Conquest that was fought twixt the *English* and the *Scots*, I will here particularize, but with as much brevity as may be.

The Duke of *Somerset* was General of the English, the Earl of *Warwik* his Lieutenant, the Lord-Admiral *Clinton* had 60 ships of War, which were to hold cours with the Land-forces; the whole Army consisted but of about 13000 Foot, 1200 men at Arms, 2500 Light-horse, 16 Peeces of Ordinance, evry Peece having a Gard of Pioners who came to about 1400. From *Berwick* they entred *Scotland*, and marchd as far as *Musselburgh* far within the Country; they seizd upon three small Castles as they passd, and with infinit pains overcame the Natural and *Artificial* Difficulties of the Ways. They understood that the Scots Army far exceeded them in number, and ther came Recreuts dayly unto it: For the Fire-cross was carried about by the Heralds through all parts, (which is two Firebrands upon the point of a Spear) that all above sixteen, and under sixty yeers shold repair to the General Rendevous: insomuch that the *Scots* Historians themselfs do mention that ther were above thirty thou-

thouſand in the whole Army, which was twice the number of the Engliſh. The Battail was fought with much reſolution and eagerneſs on both ſides; yet notwithſtanding that the *Scot* was at his own home, and that the Engliſh were tir'd by a long difficult march, they obtaind an abſolute Conqueſt: ther were ſlain of the *Scots* about 14000 out-right upon the place, wherof ther were 3000 Kirk-men, as Fryars and Monks, *Huntley* with other great Lords were taken Priſoners, 30 Peeces of Ordinance were taken and ſhippd for *England*, with 30000 *Jacks*, as the Record ſays; and the Engliſh plunderd the Country five days march further, and did what they wold.

We will conclude with the late Battail at *Dunbar* ſtill freſh in memory, where ther were not much more then 8000 *Engliſh*, and the *Scot* had them at a great advantage, yet the Engliſh making a *Vertu* of *Neceſsity*, utterly overcame an Army of about 24000 Scots; an Army that had been long a moulding, and conſiſted of many of their Nobility and Gentry: they loſt both Bag and Bagage, Artillery and Arms: ther were above 3000 ſlain, 10000 taken Priſoners, whereof ther were 260 Officers, 15000 Arms, and 30 Peeces of Ordinance, and neer upon 200 of their Colours were brought to hang in *Weſtminſter*-Hall for Trophies.

Out of what hath been ſaid, this Inference may be made:

That in all thoſe Traverſes and Encounters of War that *England* had with *Scotland*, which were neer upon an hundred ſince the Conqueſt, take ſmall and great together, the *Engliſh* did always foyl the *Scot*, except in *Ed.* 2. time, as ſhall be ſaid hereafter. In ſome *Battails* we may find how they *carried* away more *Captives* then they were common ſoldiers themſelfs, driving them as it were like ſheep before them: And obſervable it is, that the greateſt Battails were fought in *Scotland* it ſelf, after that the Engliſh had been tir'd and diſpirited by long marches, over uncouth and ſtrange places, being ignorant both of the Advenues and Advantages of them.

Tru it is, that in *Ed.* 2. Raign they won two or three Victories, wherof that at *Bannocks*-Battail was the greateſt, where *Gilbert de Clare* Earl of *Gloceſter*, and about 40 Barons, with 700 Knights and Engliſh Gentlemen, were killd.

In *Hen.* 8. Raign they got alſo a ſmall Victory, when Sir *Ralph Evers* was ſlain. In the time of the *Long* Fatal Parlement they did likewiſe many Inſolencies, and ruſh'd far into *England:* but thoſe *Invaſions* may be rather termd *Invitations* by ſome ſpurious and unworthy-degenerated *Engliſh-men*, who had contrivd their coming in long before; whoſe memories will ſtink in the Noſtrils of all Poſterity.

But the Engliſh have taken *four* of their Kings *Captives*, killd *two* other in the field, carried away their Crown, with the chiefeſt Enſignes of Royalty, *&c.*

Nor were ſuch high Exploits performed by the Kings of *England* on *Land* only, but by *Sea* they have been as glorious. Hiſtorians ſay how King *Edgar* had a Navy of three thouſand ſix hundred ſhips, and bottoms of all ſorts, which he divided to three Fleets that uſd to coaſt about, and ſcowre the Seas as far as *Norway* evry year, and he in perſon would go often *Admiral* himſelf, and be all the Summer abroad.

Philip the French King not long before the Battail of *Creſſy*, to hinder *Edward* the thirds return into *Erance*, got a mighty Navy in Equippage of 200 ſayl of ſhips, beſides Gallies in the Haven of *Sluce*; wherof King *Edward* being advertiſed, prepared ſuch another Fleet, and encounters the French with ſuch reſolution and ſucceſs, having the Wind and the Sun for him, that he utterly defeated the whole Navy, ſlew about thirty thouſand men, and ſo returned with mighty triumphs, and the admiration of all *Europe*.

Philip the ſecond of *Spain*, having (as he conceavd) endured divers Affronts and Injuries from Queen *Elizabeth*, conceald his Diſcontents a long time, until he had provided the *Invincible Armada*, as it was calld, wherewith he hoped to have ſwallowed all *England*. It was three years preparing, it conſiſted of above 150 ſayl, wherof moſt of them were Galeons: they were mannd by 8000 Mariners: they carried 20000 Liſted ſoldiers, beſides Volunteers: they had 1600 Braſs Cannons, 1000 of Iron, and 120000 Granado's, with other Fireworks of all ſorts. This Prodigious Fleet ſtood the King of *Spain* in 10 Millions firſt and laſt, from the time that ſhe ſet ſayl out of *Liſbonne*, as tis found in their Annals: ſhe lookd like a Foreſt at Sea as ſhe ſteerd along. Q. *Elizabeth* had firſt news hereof from *Hen.* 4. of *France*. But then how did that Maſculine Queen, that notable Virago, beſtir her ſelf? how ſuddenly was there a great Fleet in a readineſs, and an Army by Land? how magnanimouſly did ſhe view her Muſters, and encouragd the ſoldiers, riding up and down with a Plume of Feathers in her Hat like another *Boadicia*? So that mighty *Armada* paſſing through the narrow Seas as far as the *Downs*, her great Galeons were ſo plyed and pelted by the Engliſh ſhips, that they were utterly overthrown, only ſome few fetching a compaſs about *Scotland*, got ſafe to *Spain* to bring news what became of the reſt.

I have been ſomwhat overlong in this Paragraph, but ther ſhall be a compenſation made for the Prolixity thereof by the Brevity of thoſe that follow.

The

The Fifth Paragraph.

That the King of Great Britain *hath as ſtout and ſtrenuous ſtardy Free-born Peeple to his Subjects as any other King, with as generous a Country, and Generality of Wealth.*

I Will begin this Paragraph with a late eloquent Character that an Italian Nobleman the Count *Alfonſo Loſchi* of *Vicenza* gives both of the Peeple and the plenty of *England* in his late printed Volume, calld, *Compendi Hiſtorici.*

La popolatione d' Inghilterra è innumerabile, gli huomini ſono diſpoſti, & ben organizati, grandi di corpo, di faccia ſerena, bianca, & rubicunda, nella guerra terribili, & audaci, nelle riſolutioni precipitoſi, & crudeli. Qe Donne rieſcono à Maraviglia belle, & gratioſe & con la Leggiadria del veſtito rapiſcono I cuori. Inghilterra vanta non immeritamente titolo di Monarchia in expreſsione, & gieroglifico di che tiene il Re di ſotto allo ſcettro la palla per figura della dominatione del mondo. Non cie Potentato che con armata maritima poſſa approdare à liti, à quali ſervendo per mura l' Oceano, & per iſbarco ſicuriſsimi, & arenoſi receſsi non vimprontano l'orme piedi ſtranieri, & ſe ben ſpeſſo con Inteſtine ſeditioni non haveſſe contro le proprie viſcere rivolto le ſeditioni, & l'armi riuſcirebbe indomabile, ne ci ſarebbe potenza ſopra l' Ingleſe. L'aere ſalubre, ricchezze grandiſsime, li terreni fecondi, & minerali, li paſcoli abondanti, & delicati, onde le lane d' Inghilterra tengono il primo luogo, &c.

Which Character coming from ſo indifferent a Judge, and ſo freſh an Author, and a Perſonage of ſo high a Wit and Quality, I thought worthy the rendring into Engliſh.

" The Peeple of *England* are innumerable; the Men well-
" diſpoſd, and organizd or limmd; talliſh of ſtature, of come-
" ly Countenances, white, and reddiſh: they are terrible in the
" Wars, and bold, headlong and cruel in their reſolutions. The
" Women are marvellouſly beutiful and handſome, and by the
" quaintneſs of their Dreſſes do raviſh hearts. *England* not un-
" deſervedly glorieth of the Title of *Monarchy*, by the Expreſſi-
" on and Hierogliphic that the King bears under his Scepter,
" which is a Globe or Ball that repreſents the Government of
" the world. Ther is no Potentat whatſoever that with any
" Naval power can approach his ſhores, wherunto the Ocean
" ſerving for a Wall, with moſt ſecure and ſandy Receſſes for
" diſimbarking, the ſtranger cannot plant his foot. And if
" *England* did not uſe ſo often to turn the ſword into her own
" Bowels

" Bowels by inteſtine ſeditions, ſhe wold prove invincible, and " ther wold be no power above the Engliſh. The Air is health- " ful, mighty Riches; the Soyl is plentiful, and abounding with " Minerals; the Paſture luxurious and delicat, whence it pro- " ceeds that the Engliſh Wool is incomparable.

This new noble Author when he comes to deliver his Opinion of *France* and *Spain*, doth not ſpeak half ſo much of either, nor of any Country els; for he treats of all the Kingdomes of *Europe*, and of other beſides.

Now, it is taken *pro conceſſo*, tis a truth granted by all, that ther is no King hath more choice of luſty and ſtout Bodies to make ſoldiers of, then the King of *Great Britain* hath in his Dominions; ther is the *Engliſh*, *Welch*, *Scots* and *Iriſh*, Nations that keep ſtill entire their innated ſpirits, and ſtoutneſs uncowd: And this may be imputed to the Policy and Moderation of Government, to the equal diſtribution of the VVealth and Plenty of the Country. For the Yeoman and Franklin goes well clad, hath wholſome Nutriment; and as a return of his Labor from the grateful Earth, hath wherwith to provide for his children that they may not encreaſe the number of Beggers. It is not ſo in ſome Countries, which made one ſay, (though ther may be ſome exceſs in the expreſſion) That *the Yeomen and Freeholders of* Kent *are able to buy half the Peaſants of* France. Such Subjects and ſuch a Country the King of *Great Britain* commands; which made *Eumenius* in his famous and elegant Panegyric to *Conſtantin* the Great, to melt thus into her praiſes.

O fortunata & omnibus beatior Terris Britannia, quæ Conſtantinum Cæſarem *prima vidiſti; Meritò Te omnibus Cœli ac Soli dotibus Natura donavit, in qua nec hyemis eſt nimius rigor, nec æſtatis ardor. In qua ſegetum eſt tanta fœcunditas ut muneribus utriuſq; ſufficiat & Cereris & Liberi. In qua nemora ſine immanibus beſtiis, Terra ſine ſerpentibus noxiis. Pecorum mitium innumerabilis multitudo lacte diſtenta, & onuſta velleribus, Certè quidem quod propter vitam diligitur longiſsimæ dies, & nullæ ſine aliqua luce noctes, dum illa littorum extrema planities non attollit umbras, noctiſq; metam Cœli ac Syderum tranſit aſpectus, ut Sol ipſe qui nobis occidere videtur ibi appareat ſolummodo præterire.*

" O moſt fortunat *Britain*, (ſaith *Eumenius*) more bleſſd then " any other Country, which didſt firſt ſee *Conſtantin Cæſar*; " Nature hath deſervedly endowed thee with all Gifts both " of Heaven and Earth. In thee neither the exceſſive cold of " VVinter, nor the ardent heat of Summer doth offend the In- " habitant. Thou ſwell'ſt with ſuch a fecundity of all kind of " Corn,

" Corn, that thou mayst be calld the Favorit of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*.
" Thy Groves are without savage rapacious Beasts, and thy
" Heaths without any poysonous Serpents. Thy Fields are co-
" vered with innumerable multitudes of mild Cretures, labou-
" ring with exuberance of Milk, and laden with rich Fleeces.
" For delightfulness of Life, thy days are very long, and no
" night but hath some glimpses of light: the glorious Sun
" which sets and goes down in other Regions, seems only to pass
" by thy Horizon.

From this temperatness of Clime and Fertility, may proceed the Well-favouredness, the Procerity, as also the Health and Longævity of the Inhabitants; in regard Nature doth not finish her cours in the bodies of Males and Females so soon here as she doth in *France* and *Spain*. For tis observd by all strangers, that an *English* woman looks as fresh and beutiful at forty, as a *French* or *Spanish* at five and twenty; it being very ordinary for them to continue still teeming and prolifical when they are past fifty years. And for the *Men*, it wold be Registred for a Miracle in *Spain* or *France* to finde ten men of a thousand years, (one with another) as were found in *Hereford* about 60 years since, within two miles compass of the town, who were so vigorous, strong and spriteful, that they danced the Morice-dance in the Market-place for many hours, with a Maid-Mariam of a hundred and three, and a Tabourer of a hundred and five years old.

mark this.—

From the Fertility and Generousness of the Earth, may proceed also the extraordinary Courage and Hardiness of the People; which hath been so well known and felt in other Countries beyond the Seas, as the Examples in the former Paragraph do prove at so many signal and difficult famous Battails, where the English Army was never half so numerous in any they got, no not somtimes the third or fourth part in number to the Enemy; and such an esteem they had in *France*, that (as their own stories relate) when the Duke of *Britany* or *Armorica* was to encounter the *French* Army in a Battail, he thought it a Policy to clothe a whole Brigade of his Soldiers after the English mode, to make them appeer the more formidable to the *French*.

Nor doth that Primitive innate Courage languish a whit, or decline in them, (as some think the *World* doth) as we find it hath done in other Nations, as the *Jew* and *Greek*, with others, but it continueth still at the same height; as it appeerd in the year Eighty eight by Sea, as was said before, and in several Exploits in the Low-Country Wars, as *Newport*, the Retreat before *Gaunt*, *&c.* by Land. Likewise by fresher Examples in the late Civil Wars twixt King and Parlement, and since, wherin the Power, Strength and Wealth of *England* was never more discovered: For the

late *Usurper* (having such a Command over the Peeples purse, and never wanting money) made *Spain* and *France* strive who should be his Confederat, as also the *Hollander*, the *Swed*, and others: I say, in those times the ancient stoutness of the English appeerd in many Traverses of War; as at *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, and by Sea against the *Hollander*, who were *beaten* and batterd into a Peace. What a hazardous peece of service was performed when we invaded *Barbary* at *Tunis*? but especially that desperat Exploit *Blague* did at the *Canaries*? The *French* King confest that the Brigade of *English* before *Dunkirk*, commanded by a little bold *Britain*, though not the fifth part of the Army, did contribut most to the late taking of that strong *Prædatory* Town. And the King of *Portugal* acknowledgd, that in this years great Defeat 1663. he gave Don *John of Austria* neer *Ebora*, that Brigade of *English* who servd there, though not much considerable in number, did perform the tougheſt part of the service, and first shewd them the way of using the Rests of the Musquet to knock down the Enemy; which made the French-men cry out, *Faisons comme les Anglois*, Let's do as the English.

The Sixth Paragraph.

Touching the Ancient and Long-lind Extraction, Decendency, and Bloud-Royal of the Kings of Great Britain, *&c.*

THe Races of Kings may be said to be like great Rivers, that stream out into divers large Channels and Arms, which become great Rivers of themselfs afterward: Or like huge Trees which use to stretch their Branches beyond the Ocean, where being inoculated and graffd, they make divers other Royal Trees to sprout out of them in Forren Soyls. Ther were divers Royal *Ingraftings* of this kind that *Great Britain* had with the chiefest Potentats, and some of them *Imperial*: The first was before the *English* took footing here, between the Emperour *Constantius* and *Helene*, a Britain-born, and Mother to *Constantine* the Great, the first *Christian* Emperour: for this *Iland* was held in such high esteem by the Roman Emperours, (when they had almost all the world besides) that divers of them kept their Courts here; among whom *Severus*, and *Constantius* died at *York*: which City may deservedly vaunt of two things, *viz.* that two Roman Emperours were *buried*, and a third *born* in her, *viz. Constantin* the Great.

After the *Saxons* came, this Iland also continued in such a repute, that *Ethelwolph* Son to King *Egbert*, *Anno* 830. married the Lady *Judith*, calld the *Fair* for her extraordinary Bewty, and Daughter to the Emperour *Charles le Chauve*, Granchilde to *Charlemain*.

Charlemain. The Emperour *Otho* the Great married the Sister of King *Athelſtan*, whoſe friendſhip was ſo much fought by all his Neighbouring Kings, that they wooed for it by rich Preſents: which made the King of *France* ſend him the ſword of *Conſtantin* the Great, in the Hilt wherof ther was one of the Nails that faſtned Chriſt to the Croſs: He ſent him alſo the Spear of *Charlemain.* The King of *Norway* ſent him a curious Ship, with a Gilt Stem, Purple Sayls, and the Deck garniſhd all with Gold. The Emperour *Otho* his Brother-in-law ſent him a Veſſel of precious ſtones artificially made, wherein were Landskips with Vines, Corn and Reapers ſo much to the Life, that they ſeemd to move, and act, *&c.*

Ther have been eight *Nuptial* Conjunctions twixt *Great Britain* and *France*, (beſides the *Scots* alliance with that Country.) The firſt was about the yeer 900. twixt *Charles* the firſt of *France*, and the Lady *Ogine* Daughter to *Edward* Son to King *Alfred*, that admired Saxon King, who is ſo famous in ſtory for divers ſignal things: for He cleerd the whole Kingdome of the *Danes*, who had ſo much infeſted and haraſſd it. He Founded the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *Anno* 895. He was the firſt who divided *England* into Shires, Hundreds, and Weapontakes. He divided the Natural Day alſo into three parts; eight hours for Recreation, and matters concerning his Health, as ſleep, *&c.* eight hours for Meditation and exerciſe of Piety; and eight hours in Council, and the publick Affairs of his Kingdome. He Founded alſo *Shaftsbury*-Abby, *Wincheſter*-Church, and *Eldinſey*-Monaſtery.

The ſecond Marriage with *France* was twixt *Hen.* 3. of *England*, and the Lady *Margaret* Daughter to *Lewis* the ſeventh of *France.*

The third was between *Edward* the firſt, (that great *Hero* of his time) and the Lady *Margaret*, Daughter to *Philip* the Hardy of *France.*

The fourth twixt *Edward* the ſecond and the Lady *Iſabel*, eldeſt Daughter to *Philip le Bell* King of *France*, Mother to *Edward* the third of *England*, who by right of her claimd and carried afterwards the Crown of *France.*

The fifth was twixt King *Richard* the ſecond, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Charles* the ſixth of *France:* but ſhe was but his ſecond Wife, for his firſt was the Lady *Anne*, Daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the Fourth.

The ſixth was between *Henry* the fifth of *England*, and the Lady *Katharine*, another Daughter to *Charles* the ſixth of *France.*

The ſeventh was twixt *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*, and the Lady *Mary*, ſecond Daughter to King *Henry* the ſeventh of *England.*

The

The eighth and laſt *Inoculation* twixt the *Roſe* and the *Flower de Luce*, was that of *Charles* the firſt of *England*, with the Lady *Henrietta Maria* of *Bourbon*, youngeſt Daughter to *Henry* the great of *France*. In which Matches *England* hath had *ſix* Daughters of *France*, and *France two* of *England*.

By the fourth Match twixt *Ed.* 2. and *Iſabel* eldeſt Daughter to *Philip le Bell*, *Edward* the third of *England* being her eldeſt ſon, was Heir to the Crown of *France*; and demanding his Right therunto, he was anſwered, *La Couronne de France n'eſt pas liée à la quenouille*, That the Crown of *France* was not tied to a Diſtaff: wherunto he replyed, *That he would then tie it to his Sword*; and he was as good as his word. But *Henry* the fifth ſome fourſcore years after tied it faſter, for he reduced *Charles* the ſixth to ſuch terms, that after his death he ſhold immediately poſſeſs the Crown and Kingdome of *France*, and that in the interim the *Dauphin* his ſon (afterwards *Charles* the ſeventh) ſhold be diſinherited; That in the interim King *Henry* ſhold be *Regent* of *France*, (in regard the preſent King was ſometimes crazd in his Intellectuals;) That he ſhold take to Wife the Lady *Iſabel*, Daughter to the ſaid *Charles:* All which Capitulations not onely the *King*, but the chieſeſt Peers and Nobility of *France* did conſent unto, and ratifie by ſolemn Oath, obliging themſelfs further to uphold and aſſiſt *Henry* of *England*, with his lawful Heirs and Succeſſors, againſt *Charles* the Dauphin whom his Father had legally diſinherited.

Hereupon *Henry* the fifth dying in *France*, (a Death much too ſoon and immature for ſo brave a man) his ſon *Hen. 6.* was proclaimd King of *England* and *France* in *Paris:* In which publick Proclamation, tis very obſervable how *England* had the precedence; and therupon the chieſeſt of the Officers of the Crown and Nobles ſwore Fealty and Alleageance unto him; divers of which Nobles grew afterwards Apoſtats, and joynd with the *Dauphin*.

Againſt *Edward* the thirds Right the *Salique* Law was alledgd, which they wold force and pin upon a Text of Scripture, *Lilia neq; nent*, &c. *The Lilies neither ſpin*, &c. But though King *Edward* had cut the Labels of that Law with a victorious ſword, yet it was not quite cancelld: Nor indeed could it be poſſibly done, for it was but a kind of Chymera, a meer imaginary Law; and one of the Authentiquſt French Hiſtorians *Du Haillan* hath no better opinion of it. They who are the greateſt Champions of that Law, acknowledg that it was at firſt a particular Topical Law made at *Salem*, a place upon the *Rhine*, but they have ſtretchd it ſince to all *France:* As if the Law of *Gavelkind*, which is peculiar to *Kent* and other diſtinct places, ſhold be made to extend it ſelf, and be in force all *England* over. But ſome ther

are

are that will not allow any *Eſſence* at all to the *Salique* Law, no not to be a Local reſtraining Law to the foreſaid place neer the *Rhine*; Therfore the ſame anſwer may be fit to be given unto the Aſſertors of It, as was given by the *Venetians* to the *Pope*, when ther happening a claſh between them touching the Sea about *Ancona*, which they alledgd belongd to the *Venetian* Gulf wherof they had the Dominion, And the *Pope* demanding what warrant they had for it, twas anſwered, by a kinde of *Sarcaſme*, *If your Holines pleaſe to produce the Inſtrument wherby the Emperour Conſtantine the Great paſſd over the City of Rome to your predeceſſors, Upon the back of that Grant your Holines will find* Saint Marks Charter *to the Souverainty of the Adriatique Gulph:* whence an Intimation was made, that neither of the Charters had ever any being; which may be juſtly applied to the *Salique* Law. And beſides that, *du Haillan*, though a *French-man*, in the firſt Volume of his Hiſtory, confutes that Law. It is confirmd alſo that ther never was any ſuch Law in *France* by the teſtimony of the *Duke* of *Burgundy*, who when *Philippe le long* was created *King*, he openly cryed out againſt his Creation, alledging that the Kingdom of *France* belonged then to *Jane* daughter unto *Hutin* King of *France* formerly: but to ſtop his mouth, *Philip* was forcd to make a Giſt unto him of the Dukedom of *Burgundy* in dower with his eldeſt daughter.

But touching the Title of *Henry the Fifth*, which was confirmed by Solemne Agreement, and Sacramental Oaths, the French found out another Evaſion. For it was avouchd, That the Kingdom of *France* goeth not by Deſcent or Inheritance, but by *Succeſſion*, which is grounded not upon a Law but upon Cuſtom; by vertu wherof the next of the Bloud Royal, be He of the furtheſt degree that may be to the kindred, ſucceedeth, not as lawful Heir, but as a *Succeſſor* by Cuſtom, not newly invented, but of long continuance, even from the time of *Pharamond*. But this newdeviſed Objection is refuted alſo by the foreſaid *Du Haillan* one of the prime French Hiſtoriographers, and a French-man born, who reckons up a long Catalog of French Kings which did not ſucceed one another, but were choſen one after another.

Another Objection was alſo ſuggeſted, that *Charles* the ſixth, who made the foreſaid Contract with *Henry* of *England*, was no better then a *Lunatique*, though he had ſomtimes *Lucida Intervalla*. Wherunto it is anſwerd, that at the time when that Agreement paſſd He had a lucid interval, and was in his right wits and memory: Beſides, the chiefeſt Nobility of the Realm were parties in it, and did not only conſent, but obligd themſelfs by Oath to the performance of it.

Ther was a third Objection which kept a higher noiſe, *viz.* That the King of *France* cannot alienate the Demeanes, Rights, Titles, and Intereſts of the Crown, without the conſent and

ſuffrage of the Aſſembly of *Three Eſtates*, which was not had *then*, becauſe a great part of the Peers, Nobles, and others were then abſent. Whereunto tis anſwerd, That in claims which go by plurality of voices, it is not always neceſſary that all ſhold be preſent, if the greater and better part of them be there, ſpecially if after Citation the reſt abſent themſelfs: For although the point that concerneth All, ſhold be approvd by All; yet, as Civilians hold, when ſome or all may approve or diſallow the things which concern Them, and They will not be preſent to ſhew their conſent or diſlike, their Abſence ſhall not prejudice the ſtipulation of the Contract. And in this great buſineſs twixt two Kings, thoſe who were away were Traytors to *Charles* the ſixth, for they were in arms againſt him, by taking part with the *Dauphin* who was in Rebellion againſt his Father at that time; Therfore their abſence could not in any reſpect prejudice the validity of ſo ſolemn a Contract wherupon depended Peace or War.

The fourth Objection carried more of puſillanimity with it, then ſtrength of proof, *viz.* That when the forſaid Contract was made, the *Engliſh* had almoſt over-run all *France*, and that the King was coopd up in a corner of the country; Therfore whatſoever He did being done by fear, dureſſe and compulſion, was of no better force then a Covenant extorted by violence, or made in priſon by a private man, which when he is at liberty he is not bound by Law to perform if it tend to his damage. To this tis anſwerd, That the caſe is far different twixt Souverain Princes and privat men, for between the one ther fall out but Proceſſes and Suits in law if they diſagree, or not perform what is agreed upon; But between Princes, bloud and Wars, fire and Sword, death and deſtruction ſomtimes of whole Countries and millions of human ſoules do Enſue: Therfore when a King by the propitiouſneſs of Heven, and his own proweſs, by the hazard of his life, loſs of his people, with infinit pains and expence of Treſure, hath gaind a Victory by the juſtneſs of his Cauſe and Divine decree, or reducd his Enemy to a ſtreight, All the Civilians concur in one unanimous opinion that he may make the beſt advantage he can of his good ſucceſſes, and reduce his Enemy to what terms he pleaſe; And the Articles which ſhall then be capitulated, conſented and ſworn unto, are to be exactly performd; otherwiſe there wold be no end of any War. Now, the French Chroniclers themſelfs acknowledg that *Henry* the 5. might at that conjuncture of time and fortune, have deſtroyed the whole Realm of *France*, and taken the King priſoner, or driven him quite out: But he was ſo far from doing ſo, that he ſufferd him to enjoy the Kingdom while he livd, and by taking his daughter to wife made her Iſſue therby

therby capable not only of the *French*, but also of the *English* Crown, with all the Dominions thereunto annexed. Whence some Authors observ that the *English* have bin usd in all Treaties and Stipulations to be over-reasonable, merciful, plain and downright; But the *French* crafty, double minded, inhumane, high and subdolous upon all advantages: Insomuch that tis a question which was sharper, the English *blade*, or the French *brain*.

I will conclude this digressive discours with another argument of the French, *viz.* That *Charles* the sixth could not legally disinherit his eldest son, being Heir apparent to the Crown of *France*. To this may be answerd, that neither *Charles* the sixth was rightful King, nor consequently his son heir apparent: for since *Edward* the third of *England*, all the French Kings were but *usurpers*; they were Kings *de facto*, not *de jure*. Moreover ther are many Examples how the eldest sons of the Kings of *France* have bin disinherited: We read that *Robert* made his second son *Henry* King of *France*, by disinheriting *Robert* his *eldest*, who for compensation was made Duke of *Burgundy*. *Lewis le Gros*, with the consent of all the Peers and Estats of *France*, made also *Lewis* his second son King, and gave *Robert* his eldest the Earldom of *Dreux*. *Dagobert* made *Clouis* his second son King of *France*, by putting by *Sigisbert* his eldest son.

I have bin somwhat long in discours of this great Transaction twixt *England* and *France*, because the chief aim of this Work being at *Precedence*, the discerning Reader may regulat his judgment accordingly.

We will now go on to conclude this Paragraph, the main scope wherof being Antiquity, and continuance of Royal Bloud.

The Genealogical Tree of the Kings of this Iland, as all other Countries, hath had various Stems: the first were *Britains* (now calld *Welsh*) who may contend for Antiquity, and may be said to be coetaneous with the Iland it self, yea before it was an *Iland*; for ther want not some who hold that it was at first a *continent*, or a peninsula tied to *Gallia* by an *Isthmos* or neck of land stretching from *Dover* to *Bullen*: for the Rocks on both coasts being of a colour and shape, look as if they were slented one out of the other. Before the *Romans* took footing here, which was neer upon 200 yeers before they could do it peaceably, the *Britains* did still so bear up against them; wheras *Gallia* or *France* was fully conquerd in less then 10 yeers: I say, before the Roman Eagle fixd his talons here, ther had bin 65 Kings of the *British* Bloud: But then that Race being interrupted by the *Romans* for above 400 yeers, the Iland being freed of

Them,

Them, ſome of the old *Britiſh* Bloud came to be Kings again, among whom ſome were very famous, as *Uterpendragon*, and *Arthur* his ſon the chief Chriſtian *Worthy*, who was the firſt Founder of Warlike honour conferrd upon his *Knights* of the Round Table. And this Race of the old *Britiſh* Kings laſted till the raign of *Cadwallader*, *Anno* 689; yet ther were Welſh Princes that ſwayd ſtill (as among other *Howel Dha* the Great *Legiſlator*) and ſtood ſtoutly for their Liberty until the raign of *Edw.* 1. in whoſe raign *Leolin* the laſt Prince of the Britiſh Bloud being ſlain in battel, his head was brought to King *Edward*, who commanded it to be crownd with *Ivie*, confeſſing that he had met with more valour in the *Welſh* then the *Scots*, for he had fierce Wars with both. But *Cadwallader* being dead, the Britiſh Race was interrupted again (till *Owen Tewdors* time, who deſcended from *Cadwallader*, as ſhall be ſhewd) by a *German* peeple inhabiting the lower Circuit of *Saxony*, and ſo calld *Saxons* by the *Welſh* and *Iriſh* to this day. They had a *Heptarchy* a long time; but *Egbert* by conqueſt reducd them to a *Monarchy*, and he was the firſt who calld himſelf King of *England*.

Then that Engliſh Race alſo of Kings had two ſhort Interruptions, one by the *Danes* wherof ther raigned here three Kings, but all their raigns extended not to 25 yeers; Then by *William of Normandy*, and that Interruption laſted about 40 yeers, till *Henry* the firſt married the lady *Matilda* daughter to *Malcolme* King of *Scotland* by the Lady *Margaret* ſiſter to *Edgar Atheling*, wherby the Engliſh Bloud Royal was reſtord.

Then by a marvellous providence the *Britiſh* Royal Bloud after about 800 yeers Interruption was reſtord by *Owen Tewdor*, who married the Queen Dowager *Katherine*, and ſo was Granfather to *Hen.* 7. which *Tewdor* by an exact ſcrutiny that was made by the Britiſh Bards, and confirmed by the Engliſh Heralds, came lineally from the foreſaid King *Cadwallader* and *Leolin*: ſo ther were three Kings, *viz. Hen.*7. *Hen.*8. *Edw.*6. with two Queens, *viz. Mary* and *Elizabeth*, all *Tewdors*.

Then came in the Royal Race of *Scotland* by the Lady *Margaret Tewdor* eldeſt daughter to *Hen.* 7. and firſt branch of the two Roſes.

Now, by a due computation made of the premiſes, it will be found, that (take *Britiſh* or *Engliſh*) the *ſource* and *ſeries* of the *Bloud* Royal of *England* is above a thouſand yeers ſince. And if from *Cadwallader* you go to the *Britiſh* Kings before the Romans interrupted the Royal ſucceſſion therof, it will be neer upon 3000 yeers; which no kingdom els can ſay. Moreover, the Bloud Royal of *Scotland* ſome hundreds of yeers before was incorporated in the *Britiſh*: for the mother of the firſt King of the *Stuarts* was a *Britiſh* Lady.

And

And as ther is a Regiſter of 139 Britiſh and Engliſh Kings, ſo there is an exact Catalog of 110 *Scots* Kings: wheras all the three Races of the French Kings make but 64 Kings in all. Nor did any of thoſe three Royal Races continue much above 300 yeers in a Bloud, but were quite extinguiſhd, both *Merovingiens*, *Carlevingiens*, and *Capevingiens*. The Houſe of *Valois* extinguiſhed in the late Queen *Margaret*, firſt wife to *Hen.*4. And this preſent King is but the Third of the Houſe of *Bourbon*.

Spain cannot ſay ſo much: for the furtheſt Line that Her Kings can draw, is not much above 500 yeers ago, from the Counts of *Caſtile*; nor was ther ever any *King* of *Caſtile* till the yeer 1017. And touching the Houſe of *Auſtria*, it became Royal but about 300 yeers ſince.

To conclude this Paragraph, his preſent Majeſtie of *Great Britain*, in point of Royal Extraction and Linage, is the Greateſt born Prince that any Age can produce. For wheras his Granfather and Father were allied only, if you regard Forren Conſanguinity, to the Houſe of *Holſtein*, and that of *Lorain*; *Charles* the ſecond of *England* bears in his Veins not only *That* Bloud, but alſo the Blouds of all the Great Princes of Chriſtendom, being neerly linkd to the Houſes of *France* and *Bourbon*, To the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and conſequently to the *Emperour* and *Spain* by the *Maternal* ſide, as alſo to the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Florence*. Moreover, He is neerly allied to the King of *Denmark*, and to all the prime Princes of *Germany*, as the *Saxe*, *Brandenburg*, *Bavaria*, the *Palſgrave*, &c.

The ſeventh Paragraph.

Touching the Hoſpitality, and plentiful Kingly Court, with number of Officers and Stately Attendants of the King of Great Britain.

TIs ordinary for *Latin* Authors old and new, to break out into the praiſes of *Great Britain*, and their Elogiums are many: but lets hear what a great *Greek* Poet ſpeaks of Her.

——— Οὐκ τις ἄλλη
Νήσος ἐν πόντῳ Βρεταννίδι ἰσοφαρίζει.

No Ile did ever dare
With Britain yet compare.

Among other Encomiums of *England*, ſhe is much cried up for her wonderful fecundity and fulneſs of all things relating to the nouriſhment of mankinde, all things that Earth, Water or

Air can afford: which (with the Divine benediction) must be imputed to the temper of the Clime; And besides, ther be gentle breezes that are conveyd from the circumfluent Seas, which refresh all kinde of animals both Brute and Rational. The clouds there may be truly said to drop fatness, dissolving into silver wholsom showers to soften and fertilize her *Glebes*: In *December* and *January* there is commonly *Frost* enough to *knit* and corroborate the joynts of the earth: In *February* ther is usually *Snow* enough to fill the Dikes, and like a gentle white rugg to cover her plowd fields, and keep the bed of the earth warm from the inclemency of the circumambient cold air. It is observd that ther is not such a multitude of Volatils any where: And touching her Seas, ther are not any wher so great variety of Fish swimming in such huge shoals like mountains, and taking their turns and seasons about the Iland once every yeer: Her fresh rivers are also full of them. Her Forests and Woods have not such ravenous beasts as other Countries use to have: yet ther are store of savage beasts for Recreation, as the Stagg, the Hind, the Hart, the Hare, the Otter, the Fox and Badger, *&c.* The bowels of the earth are no where so pregnant of Metals, Stone, and Fuel, *&c.* The Sun, which scorcheth other Countries, may be said but to warm the Englisn soyl with his gentle rays. The Air is nothing so soggie and dull as in many other Regions, but cleerd and attenuated ever and anon with refreshing blasts. Nor is the body of the earth so subject to shaking Agues and Earthquakes, to trepidation and quakings, as other places are, which are full of sulphurous bituminous concavities. Touching store and superfluity of Corn, with all sorts of Grain, *Britain* in the times of the *Romans* was calld, as *Tacitus* says, the Barn and Granary of the Western world. Take all these particulars together, the Poet doth not much complement with *England* when he breaks thus into a Character of her.

Anglia *Terra ferax, Tibi pax secura quietem,*
Multiplicem luxum merx Opulenta dedit.
Tu nimio nec stricta gelu, nec sydere fervens,
Clementi Cœlo, temperiéq; places.
Cùm pareret Natura parens, variáſq favore
Divideret dotes omnibus una locis,
Sepoſuit potiora Tibi, Matremq; profeſſa
Inſula ſis fœlix, plenaq; pacis, ait,
Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid deſiderat uſus,
Ex Te proveniet vel aliunde Tibi.

This is the cause of that infinit Commerce she hath to all parts of the habitable earth as far as the Antipodes, and the incredible

credible benefit which other Nations make of her Commodities; Insomuch that *Guicciardine*, an Author well to pass, relates that after the Articles of the *Intercursus magnus* were made with *Flanders* or the Netherlands, the Annual Trade amounted unto above twelve Millions Sterling, whereof the one half was in Woollen Manufactures, wherby the 17 Provinces did wonderfully improve in Negotiation and Wealth: Insomuch that the ground of the Order of the *Golden Fleece* established by the Duke of *Burgundy*, related to the *English Wool*, which proved so infinitely beneficial unto them.

From this marvelous exuberance and superfluity of substantial Staple-commodities proceed the luxe, the plenty and profuseness of the Inhabitants: for ther is no wher such frequent Invitations and Feasts in Town and Country; which made one say, That among others, *England* hath an Inchanting kind of quality, to make Forreners forget their own Countries, when they have once tasted of the sweetness therof. The Franklins, Yeomen or Freeholders live like Gentlemen, The Gentlemen and Esquires live like Noble-men, The Noble-men like Princes. The Lord Maior and Sheriffs of *London* have Tables most days of the week fit to entertain Kings.

Now, touching the *Royal Court*, which may be calld the Epitome of the whole Country, Ther is no King whatsoever lives in that height of magnificence and plenty. Ther was *communibus annis* serv'd in kind in provisions for his Majesties house by way of composition, 3790 quarters of *Wheat*; 1493 *Oxen* fat and lean; 7000 *Muttons*; 1231 *Veals*; 310 *Porks*; 410 *Sturks*; 26 *Boars*; 320 Flitches of *Bacon*; 6820 *Lambs*; 40 Barrels of *Butter*; 145 dozen of *Geese*; *Capons* cours 252 dozen; *Hens* 470 dozen; *Pullets* cours 750 dozen; *Chickins* cours 1470 dozen; *Wax* 3100 weight; sweet *Butter* 46640 pounds; *Charcoals* 1250 loads; *Talwood*, *Billets*, *Faggots*, 3950 loads; *Herrings* 60 barrels; *Wine-cask* from the Vintners 600 Tun, *&c.* *Beer* 1700 Tun, *&c.* This was for the first cours: Now for the second cours innumerable sorts of Fowl and Fish according to the season, which was exactly observd. This made *Bodin* the great Critique to confess, that considering all things, ther was not a more magnificent and plentiful Court upon earth. Now the riches and fameſs of a Country shold be principally seen in the Kings house; and indeed the greatest glory of *England* appeers there, as all observing Forreners confess: and nothing conduced more to the continuance, increase and support of his power and honour, and which drew more awe and reverence from all peeple; all which are so requisit and essential to the prosperity of King and Peeple, as they cannot be wanting, but are and shold be perpetual attendants of the Soverain Prince. Now, this

this cannot be without the concurrence and service of the People: Now, from all times the *English* were observd to be industrious, and make it their chief care to provide the best things for the Kings Court; according to that ancient, and no less eloquent speech of a great Lawyer: *Domus Regis vigilia defendit omnium; Otium Illius labor omnium; Delicia Illius industria omnium; Vacatio Illius occupatio omnium; Salus Illius periculum omnium; Honor Illius periculum omnium.* The Kings House shold be the watchfulness of All; His recreations shold be the labor of All; His plesures shold be the inventions of All; His safety shold be the danger of All; His honor the object of All.

Now, the greatest cause of the honour and plenty of the Royal Court in *England*, were the Preemption, Pourvoyances and Compositions he had from evry County, which were so moderat, That they who have cryed them down, thinking it to be a great advantage and ease unto them, will find in time that they were no wiser then the Ass in the Fable (as a very judicious Gentleman observes) who thought to make his burden of Sponges the lighter by lying down with them in the water: For those Compositions, considering the smalness of them, and how many went to bear the burden, were scarce any weight at all, as will appeer by those Shires I shall produce for instances.

All the thirteen Shires of *Wales* were chargd but at one hundred and fourscore Sturks, which stood that whole *Dominion* but in three hundred and threescore pounds, wherof *Anglesey*, which hath 83 Parishes, payd but 5*l.* which amounts not to 15 pence evry Parish.

The County of *Derby*, which hath one hundred and six Parishes, payd but 254 *l. per an.*

Worcestershire, which hath one hundred and two Parishes, was assessd at 495*l.* which is about three pounds seven shillings upon evry Parish.

Yorkshire, which hath 459 Parishes, besides many large Chapelries, was charged but with 495*l.* which was not two and twenty shillings upon evry Parish one with another.

Bedfordshire, which hath one hundred and sixteen Parishes, payed four hundred ninety seven pounds eight shillings four pence.

Cheshire, having sixty eight Parishes, was to furnish but 25 lean Oxen at the Kings price, *viz.* four marks apiece, *&c.* with other things, which came not to one pound nine shillings upon evry Parish.

Cornwal, having an hundred and sixty Parishes, did not bear so great a contribution as eight shillings upon evry Parish.

The County of *Devon*, which hath three hundred ninety four

four Pariſhes, paid no greater ſum for evry yearly compoſition then ten ſhillings upon every Pariſh.

Herefordſhire, having one hundred ſeventy ſix Pariſhes, made evry one to contribut no more then about twelve ſhillings ſix pence upon every Pariſh.

The huge County of *Norfolk*, which hath 660 Pariſhes, payd but one thouſand ninety three pounds two ſhillings and eight pence; which in proportion comes not to one pound eleven ſhillings upon evry Pariſh.

Somerſetſhire, which hath 385 Pariſhes, payd ſeven hundred fifty five pounds fourteen ſhillings eight pence, which amounts to about 40 *s.* a Pariſh.

The County of *Northampton*, which contains 326 Pariſhes, payd towards Pourvoyance and Compoſition nine hundred ninety three pounds eighteen ſhillings four pence; which was for evry Pariſh little more then three pounds.

Lincolnſhire, which hath 630 Pariſhes, payd one thouſand one hundred ſeventy five pounds thirteen ſhillings and eight pence; which amounted to leſs then forty ſhillings a Pariſh.

Gloceſterſhire, which hath 280 Pariſhes, payd four hundred twenty two pounds ſeven ſhillings and eight pence; which was not one pound eleven ſhillings *per* Pariſh.

Ther be other Counties, by reaſon of their vicinity to the Court, and being very great gainers for the vent of their commodities by the Kings conſtant Reſidence, with his Tribunals of Juſtice in his Imperial Chamber of *London*, were chargd deeper; as,

The County of *Kent*, which hath 398 Pariſhes, And is the common road of Ambaſſadors paſſing to and fro, as alſo where his Arſenals, Docks and Navie Royal lies, with four of his Cinq Ports, *&c.* payd three thouſand three hundred thirty four pounds and ſix ſhillings.

The County of *Suſſex*, which hath 112 Pariſhes, payd one thouſand and ſixteen pounds two ſhillings and ſix pence.

The County of *Surrey*, having 140 Pariſhes, payd one thouſand ſeventy nine pounds and three pence.

Hertfordſhire, which hath one hundred and twenty Pariſhes, payd one thouſand two hundred fifty nine pounds nineteen ſhillings four pence.

The County of *Eſſex*, having 415 Pariſhes, for her neighbourhood to *London* and the Court, payd two thouſand nine hundred thirty one pounds two ſhillings and two pence.

The County of *Buckingham*, which hath 185 Pariſhes, payd two thouſand and forty pounds ſixteen ſhillings and ſix pence.

Berkſhire, having 140 Pariſhes, payd one thouſand two hundred and fifty five pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and eight pence.

The County of *Middleſex*, which hath 73 Pariſhes beſides what are in the Suburbs of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, paid nine hundred ſeventeen pounds nineteen ſhillings *per an.* which was no great matter in point of proportion to the reſt of the Counties, In regard of the great advantages this Shire hath by the propinquity and reſidence of the Kings Court, And ſo by letting and ſetting of Lands, Paſturages, Houſes, Lodgings at higheſt rates, with the improving the prices of all other commodities.

The City of *London*, which hath ſuch mighty benefits by the conſtant ſojourn of the King, and of his principal Courts of Juſtice at *Weſtminſter*-Hall, by the Records in the Tower, by the Inns of Court and Chancery, with variety of other advantages, as the Kings Cuſtom-Houſe, wherby ſhe is ſwoln up to be ſo vaſt in Building, and to ſuch infinit Riches, that ſhe ſwallows up the Trade of all the three Kingdoms; yet for all theſe advantages, ſhe with the out-parts did contribut in Grocery ware for the ſervice of the Kings Houſe but about 2000 *l. per annum.* Nor did the Kings Brewers in *London*, and four miles compaſs about, pay but one half-peny in every Buſhel of Mault; which is now remitted: And what an inconſiderable ſmall eaſe it is to ſo many Brewers, let any man judge.

Out of the Premiſes touching *Compoſitions* for Pourvoyances, this inference may be drawn, what a care and love our provident and prudent Progenitors bore to the honor of their King, his Court, and Houſhould; And under favor I may ſay that theſe Royal Pourvoyances, and his tenures *in Capite*, were two of the faireſt *flowers* in the Engliſh Crown, in lieu wherof it may be ſayd ther is ſet in an ear of *barly*, with a Chimney-*Wallflower*; ther is *froth* and *ſume* given in exchange, which doth ſo much ſully the luſter of it: for, as I intimated before, the ſtate and plenty of the Court was accounted the greateſt glory of the Crown of *England*, as Forren Authors of moſt Nations do acknowledg in their public Writings.

Now, wheras ſome do affirm that the yeerly benefit of the *Exciſe* doth make a full compenſation for the Court of Wards, and *tenures in Capite*, out of which ther was alſo computed fifty thouſand pounds yeerly towards the Diet at Court, It is too well known that the ſaid *Exciſe* doth not make the King any Equivalent ſatisfaction for his *Tenures* alone (if well managd) much leſs for his Pourvoyances, Preemptions and Carriages: For ther was an exact account made by his Majeſties ſpecial command, of the laſt yeers expence, that ther were Seventy three thouſand ſix hundred and ſeven pounds fourteen ſhillings and

ſeven

ſeven pence ſpent more in the Court-diet, and proviſion of the Stables, then were in the time of Pourvoyance, beſides the extraordinary charge of Carriages for his Removes, and Navy Royal.

Now, in expending thoſe proviſions that were ſerv'd into the Court by way of Pourvoyance and Compoſition, ther was the greateſt care and Oeconomical good husbandry uſd that poſſibly could be: for when ther were more Beefs and Muttons with other proviſions ſerv'd in then the Court wanted, The faithful Officers of the Green-cloth cauſed them to be *Sould*, and with the moneys ariſing thence they were commonly uſd to buy Napery, and other Houſhold-things for the ſervice of the Kings Houſe, as alſo in paying the arrears of ſom of his Servants wages with the ſurpluſages.

But now that we dance after the French Fiddle ſo faſt, as we always did ſo for the *back*, and now begin to follow him alſo in things relating to the *Belly*, by Board-wages, *&c.* I wiſh the time may not come that we do not follow him too farr; As that one cannot put a grain of Salt in his pot unleſs he buy it of the King, wherby, in making *Salt* his own Commodity, the French King raiſeth by the meer *Gabel* which ariſeth thence above 20 millions of Livres evry yeer, which is two millions Sterling; which ſum is twice more then the King of *Great Britain* hath from all Incoms whatſoever, as Crown-lands, Cuſtomes and Impoſts, Exciſe and Chimney-money, with other perquiſits and caſualities: And as the French thus cannot put a grain of *Salt* in his pot, ſo the *Spaniard* cannot put a corn of *Peper* into his *Olla* unleſs he hath it from the King; Nor can he buy a pair of *Cards* or *Dice* to paſs away the time withal, unleſs he hath them of the King; Nay, he cannot buy half a ſheet of *Paper* to write either Bond or Bill, Acquittance or Receit, or other legal Inſtrument, but he muſt buy all of the King; Which adds millions to his yeerly Revenues: yet the peeple of *Spain* are cryed up for a free peeple.

But touching the Impoſition of *Exciſe* (which is given the King for his Royal Tenures, and Houſe-keeping) I well remember the time, that Exciſe was held ſuch an abominable word, that my Lord *Carleton* but only for naming it once in the Parlement-Houſe, (yet to no ill meaning at all) was violently cryed to the *Bar*; and, though a perſon of that eminence, as being then a Privie Counſellor, and principal Secretary of State, he hardly eſcapd being committed to the Tower. The *Exciſe* was then calld the *Dutch Devil*, becauſe it came firſt from *Holland*, with other fine words, as *plunder*, *ſtorming*, &c. which were all made free Denizons of *England* by that ſo longd-for *Long Parlement*. And obſervable it is, that the firſt impoſing and uſe of *Exciſe* in *England*

land was to enable Rebels to make War againſt their King and Country.

Having thus briefly run over the *Sumptuary* part of the Engliſh Court, we will now proceed to the Servants and Officers, to the Attendance and State thereof, which comes not behind any other Court whatſoever: And this might be the ground of that ancient Proverb in *England*, and nowhere els, *There is no Fiſhing to the Sea, nor Service to the Kings.* The Court is the randevous of Vertu, of *Cadets*, and perſons well qualified: It is the Scale by which they riſe, the King being the fountain of Honour, as well as of Bounty. But before we come to ſpeak of the Officers at Court, and of their Diet and *Bouche*, which by a pitiful corruption is vulgarly calld *budg*, wheras it is *bouche* a mouth; therfore it is a French phraſe, *Il a bouche à la Cour*, He hath a mouth at Court, *viz.* he hath a Diet: I ſay, before we come to ſpeak of the Diſhes and Diet at Court, let the Reader take this ſmall Advertiſement in the way, that evry *Diſh* at Court was computed to coſt the King *viis & modis* at the years end 100 *l.* a diſh: But now ſince the Preemption and Pourvoyance is taken away, evry diſh doth ſtand in four times as much, at leaſt.

The Kings Court or Houſhold.

The Lord Great Chamberlain and Earl Marſhal are rather Officers of State, and as it were *extraneous* in relation to the Houſhold: ſo, in a manner, are the four Officers of the Crown who uſe to have Houſes abroad, *viz.*
The Lord Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal of *England.*
The Lord high Treſurer.
The Lord Privie Seal.
The Lord high Admiral.

But the properſt *Domeſtick* Officers are as follow, *viz.*
The Lord *Steward* of the Houſhold, who hath allowed him evry day beſides his Fee ——— 32 diſhes.
The *Treſurer* of the Houſhold 32 diſhes; and beſides his table he hath a Fee of ——— 123 *l.* 14 *s.* 4 *d.*
The *Controuler*, beſides thirty two diſhes a day, hath a Fee of ——— 167 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.*
The *Cofferer*, beſides his Table, hath ——— 100 *l.*
The principal *Secretary of State* hath beſides his Table —— 100 *l.*
The Secretary for the Latin Toung, Fee ——— 40 *l.*
The Secretary for the French Toung, Fee ——— 66 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
The Clerks of the Signet, Fee every one ——— 40 *l.*
Four Clerks of the Privie Council, Fee evry one ——— 50 *l.*

Clerk

Clerk of the Council in the Star-chamber, Fee—26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Clerks of the Parlement, Fee { The first, —— 40 *l.* / The second, —— 10 *l.*
Clerk of the Market, Fee —— 20 *l.*
Poſt-maſter, Fee —— 20 *l.*
Thirty ſtanding Poſts appointed by the Poſt-maſter, evry one Fee —— 18 *l.* 5 *s.*
Two Carriers { To one —— 24 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.* / To the other —— 12 *l.*

Officers above Stayrs.

Lord Chamberlain of the Houſhold, beſides his Table of thirty two diſhes a day, hath a Fee —— 100 *l.*
The Groom of the Stole, who is always a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, hath evry day —— 32 diſhes.
Vice-chamberlain, Fee —— 100 *Marks.*
Knight-Marſhal, Fee —— 100 *Marks.*
The Gentlemen of the Privie Chamber, whoſe number is indefinite, Fee evry one —— 50 *l.*
Three Gentlemen-Uſhers of the Privie Chamber —— 30 *l.*
Ten Grooms of the Privie Chamber, Fee apiece —— 20 *l.*
Four Carvers, Fee evry one —— 50 *Marks.*
Three Cup-bearers, Fee evry one —— 50 *Marks.*
Four Sewers, Fee evry one —— 50 *Marks.*
Four Eſcuyers of the Body, Fee evry one —— 50 *Marks.*
Four Yeomen-Uſhers, Fee evry one —— 9 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
Twelve Ordinary Grooms, Fee evry one —— 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Four Pages, Fee evry one —— 2 *l.*
Clerk of the Cloſet, Fee evry one —— 4 *l.*
Four Meſſengers, Fee evry one —— 5 *l.*
The Band of fifty Gentlemen-Penſioners, Fee for evry one —— 50 *l.*
Standard-bearer to the Penſioners, Fee —— 100 *Marks.*

The Guard.

Captain of the Guard, fee beſides a Livery-Gown —— 14 *l.*
Two hundred ordinary Yeomen of the Guard, Fee—16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Fifty extraordinary, 8 *d. per diem* —— 1 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Standard-bearer to the Guard, Fee —— 100 *Marks.*
Clerk of the Check, fee —— 100 *Marks.*

The Great Wardrobe.

The Maſter, his fee —— 100 *l.*
Livery —— 15 *l.*

Two Clerks, fee each——4 *l.* 6. 8 *d.*
Rent-gatherer, fee——5 *l.* 0 *s.* 8 *d.*
Four Taylors, fee evry one——9 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
Skinner, fee——18 *l.* 5 *s.* 0 *d.*
Three Embroderers, fee evry one——18 *l.* 5 *s.* 0 *d.*

The Butlary of England.

Chief Butler, Fee——50 *Marks.*

The Counting House.

Four Clerks, fee evry one——44 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Clerk to the Cofferer, fee——20 *l.*
Yeoman, fee——5 *l.*
Groom, fee——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Jewel-House.

Maſter, his fee——50 *l.*
Yeoman, his fee——6 *l.*
Groom, his fee——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Green-cloth.

I ſhould have ſpoken before herof in point of precedence, It being a Court of Juſtice continually ſitting in the Kings Palace; The chiefeſt wherof are the Lord Steward, the Treſurer, the Controwler, and Cofferer, the Maſter of the Houſhold, two Clerks of the Green-cloth, and two Clerks Controwlers. Of theſe, the firſt three are uſually of the Privy-Council; For unto This, being as ſome hold the firſt and ancient Court of Juſtice in *England*, is committed the Charge and ſurintendency of the Kings Court Royal for matter of government. It is called the *Green-cloth*, from the colour of the Carpet at which they ſit, wheron the Kings Arms are embrodered, and on each ſide the Arms of the Counting Houſe bearing *verd*, a Key and a Rod or white Staff *argent faultie*, ſignifying their power to reward or correct, as perſons for their great prudence and experience thought fit to exerciſe both thoſe functions.

The Robes.

Yeoman, fee——50 *l.*
Groom, fee——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Page, fee——2 *l.*

Har-

Harbingers.

Knight-Harbinger, fee — 50 *l.*
Four Harbingers, fee evry one — 10 *l.*
Thirty Yeomen of the Crown, fee evry one — 6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.*

The Beds.

Five Marſhals, fee evry one — 11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Four Sewers, fee evry one — 11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Two Survayors, fee evry one — 11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Two Yeomen, fee evry one — 5 *l.*
Clerk, fee — 14 *l.*
Two Grooms, fee evry one — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee evry one — 2 *l.*

The Pantry.

Sergeants fee — 11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1. *ob.*
Four Yeomen, fee evry one — 5 *l.*
Four Grooms, fee evry one — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee evry one — 2 *l.*
Bread-bearer, fee — 1 *l.* 10 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Boteller.

Yeoman, fee — 5 *l.*
Groom, fee — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Hall.

Servitors ſixteen, to four, fee — 3 *l.* 8 *s.* 4 *d.*
To the reſt — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Buttry.

Four Yeomen, fee evry one — 5 *l.*
Four Grooms, fee evry one — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee each — 2 *l.*

The Cellar.

Sergeant, fee — 11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Seven Yeomen, fee evry one — 5 *l.*
Groom, fee — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Two

Two Pages, fee each——2 *l.*

The Ewry.

Sergeant, fee——11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob*
Three Yeomen, fee evry one——5 *l.*
Two Grooms, fee each——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee each——2 *l.*
Three Clerks, fee evry one——11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*

The Bake-house.

Sergeant, fee——11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Seven Yeomen, fee evry one——5 *l.*
Two Grooms, fee evry one——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Four Conducts, fee evry one *per diem*——4 *d.*

The Kitchin.

Two Master-Cooks, fee evry one——11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Six Yeomen, fee evry one——5 *l.*
Six Grooms, fee evry one——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Eight Children, fee evry one——2 *l.*
Galapines, apparel for them of the Hall, Kitchin, and Privie Kitchin——50 *l.*
Surveyor of the Dresser, fee——22 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.*
To the Cooks at *Easter* in Larges——6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
To the Scullery, Larges——1 *l.*
To the Pastry, Larges——2 *l.*

The Spicery.

Clerk, fee——32 *l.*
Yeoman, fee——5 *l.*

The Pitcher-House.

Two Yeomen, fee evry one——5 *l.*
Two Grooms, fee evry one——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee evry one——2 *l.*

The Chaundlery.

Sargeant, fee——11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Two Yeomen, fee each——5 l.
Two Grooms, fee each——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Two

Two Pages, fee evry one——2 *l.*

The Larder.

Sergeant, fee——11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Yeoman, fee——5 *l.*
Two Grooms, fee evry one——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee evry one——2 *l.*

The Boyling House.

Two Yeomen, fee evry one——5 *l.*
Three Grooms, fee evry one——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee——2 *l.*
Clerk, fee——6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Neatery.

Yeoman-Pourvoyer of Salt Fish, fee——40 *l.*
Yeoman-Pourvoyer of Fresh Fish, fee——7 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Seven Yeomen-Pourvoyers of Oxen, Mutton, Veal, Lamb, *&c.* fee evry one——7 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Four Grooms, fee evry one——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Yeomen of the Store-house, fee——5 *l.*

The Poultry.

Sargeant, fee——11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Clerk, fee——6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Four Yeomen-Pourvoyers, fee evry one——7 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Scalding House.

Yeoman, fee——5 *l.*
Two Grooms, fee each——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee each——2 *l.*

The Pastry.

Two Sergeants, fee each——11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Clerk, fee——6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Yeomen, fee each——5 *l.*
Four Grooms, fee evry one——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Four Children or Pages, fee evry one——2 *d.*

The Scullery.

Three Yeomen, fee evry one — 5 *l.*
Two Grooms, fee each — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee each — 2 *l.*

Amners.

Gentleman-Amner, fee — 11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Sub-Amner, fee — 6 *l.* 16 *s.* 10 *d. ob.*
Four Yeomen, fee evry one — 5 *l.*
Two Grooms, fee each — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Chappel.

Gentlemen of the Chappel, fee apiece — 11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Maſter of the Children, his fee — 40 *l.*
To the Children at high-Feaſt-Largeſſes — 9 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Allowance for their Breakfaſts — 16 *l.*

The Laundry.

Two Yeomen, fee each — 5 *l.*
Two Grooms, fee each — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee each — 2 *l.*
One Woman-Laundreſs, fee — 10 *l.*

The Wafry.

Clerk, fee — 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Yeoman, fee — 5 *l.*
Groom, fee — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

The Wood-yard.

Sergeant, fee — 11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Four Yeomen, fee evry one — 5 *l.*
Four Grooms, fee evry one — 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Two Pages, fee evry one — 2 *l.*
Two Wood-bearers, Largeſs to them at *Midſummer*, and to the Grooms of the Kings Hall — 5 *l.*
Six Porters and Scowrers, Largeſs at *Eaſter* — 5 *l.*

Porters

Porters of the Kings Gates.

Three Yeomen, fee evry one ——— 5 *l.*
Three Grooms, fee evry one ——— 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Master of the Horse.

Beſides thirty two Diſhes *per diem*, fee ——— 100 *l.*
In whoſe gift are, the chief Avenor, fee ——— 40 *l.*
Fourteen Eſcuyers, fee evry one ——— 20 *l.*
Clerk of the Stable, fee ——— 16 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.*
Three Survayors, fee evry one ——— 16 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.*
Sergeant of the Carriages, fee ——— 22 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.*
Six Riders, fee evry one ——— 30 *l.*
Sixteen Foot-men, fee evry one ——— 20 *l.*
Eight Coach-men, fee evry one ——— 18 *l.* 5 *s.*
Yeoman of the Stirrop, fee ——— 13 *l.* 13 *s.*
Three Sadlers, fee evry one ——— 9 *l.*
Six Litter-men, fee evry one ——— 10 *l.*
Four Yeomen-Pourvoyers ——— 12 *l.* 10 *s.*
Three Yeomen-Granators ——— 13 *l.*
Yeomen of the Male, fee ——— 12 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Sargeant-Ferrier, fee ——— 20 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.*
Three Yeomen-Ferriers, fee ——— 9 *l.*
Yeoman-Bittmaker, fee ——— 6 *l.* 15 *s.* 8 *d.*
Yeomen of the cloſe Cart, fee ——— 12 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Sixty four Grooms, fee evry one ——— 18 *l.* 5 *s.*

The Tents.

Maſter, fee ——— 30 *l.*
Controuler, fee ——— 12 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.*
Clerk, fee ——— 13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Keeper of the Tents, fee ——— 10 *l.*
Yeoman, his fee ——— 9 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
Groom, his fee ——— 5 *l.*

Revels.

Maſter, fee ——— 100 *l.*
Yeoman, fee ——— 9 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
Four Maſters of the Requeſts, fee apiece ——— 100 *l.*

Hunting.

Hunting.

Maſter, fee——18 *l.* 5 *s.*
Sargeant, fee——11 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*
Officers and others ſerving under the Maſter, Wages and Allowance for them——113 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

Harriers.

Maſter, fee——18 *l.* 5 *s.*
Officers and others ſubſervient to the ſaid Maſter, Wages and Allowance for them——79 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.*

Otter-hounds.

Maſter, fee——13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

Buck-hounds.

Maſter, 12 *d. per diem* for himſelf, and to ſundry Hunters ſerving at his appointment——50 *l.*
Two Sargeants, fee each——20 *l.*
Two Yeomen-Prickers, fee each——9 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
For meat for the Hounds to the Grooms——13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

Muſicians and Players.

Sargeant-Trumpeter, fee——40 *l.*
Sixteen Trumpeters, fee evry one——24 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Two Luters, fee evry one——40 *l.*
Two Harpers, fee evry one——19 *l.* 5 *s.*
Eight Singers, fee evry one——6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Allowance to ſix Children for Singing——50 *l.*
Rebeck, fee——28 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Nine Minſtrels——151 *l.* 15 *s.* 4 *d.*
Six Sackbutts, fee evry one——24 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Eight Viols, fee evry one——20 *l.*
Three Drumſteds, fee evry one——18 *l.* 5 *s.*
Two Players on the Flute, fee a piece——18 *l.* 5 *s.*
Two Players on the Virginals, fee a piece——30 *l.*
Seven Muſician-ſtrangers——183 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Eight Players of Enterludes, fee evry one——3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Two Makers of Inſtruments, fees——30 *l.*

Sur-

Surgeons.

Two Surgeons, fees between them——60 *l.*
Two other, fees to both——40 *l.*
Two more, fees between them——20 *l.*
Three Phyſicians, fees evry one——100 *l.*
Three Apothecaries, fee evry one——26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Aſtronomer, fee——20 *l.*

The Kings Barge.

Maſter, fee——16 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d.*
Twenty five Water-men for the Barge, one——8 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.*
Another——6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.*
The reſt evry one——2 *l.*

Artificers.

Stationer, fee——26 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Printer, fee——4 *l.*
Cutler, fee——6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.*
Weaver, fee——9 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
Wheelwright, fee——18 *l.* 5 *s.*
Croſsbow-maker, fee——6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.*
Coach-maker, fee——10 *l.*
Clock-maker, fee——8 *l.* 5 *s.*
Budget-maker, fee——6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.*
Feather-dreſſer, fee——13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Lock-ſmith, fee——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Arrowhead-maker, fee——6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.*
Buckler-maker, fee——3 *l.* 0 *s.* 8 *d.*
Handgun-maker, fee——24 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Graver of Stones, fee——20 *l.*
Sargeant-Painter, and others under him——100 *l.*
Arbour-maker, and Planters of Trees——25 *l.* 10 *s.*
Stillers of Waters, fee——40 *l.*
Bowyer and Fletcher, fee apiece——9 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
Clock-keeper, fee——12 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Keeper of the Libraries——13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

The Kings Works.

Surveyor, for himſelf, one Clerk, Boat-hire, and Riding-charges——142 *l.* 19 *s.* 2 *d.*
Controuler of the Works, fee——18 *l.*

One Clerk, fee — 9 l. 2 s. 6 d.
Clerk of the Engroſsment of the pay-book — 18 l. 5 s.
Pourvoyor, fee with charge of a horſe — 18 l. 5 s.
Paymaſter, fee 12 d. *per diem* — 18 l. 5 s.
Keeper of the Store-houſe, fee — 11 l. 8 s. 1 d.
Clerk of the Check, fee 10 d. *per diem* — 15 l. 4 s. 2 d.
Clerk of the Controulment — 10 l. 12 s. 11 d.
Carpenter, fee *per diem* 12 d. — 18 l. 5 s.
Plummer, fee *per diem* 12 d. — 18 l. 5 s.
Maſon, fee *per diem* 12 d. — 18 l. 5 s.
Joyner, fee — 19 l. 9 s.
Glaſier, fee — 36 l. 10 s.
Survayor of the Mines, fee — 36 l. 10 s.
Deviſor of the Buildings, fee — 36 l. 10 s.

Kings at Arms and Heralds.

Garter Principal King at Arms, fee — 40 l.
Clarencieux King at Arms, fee — 20 l.
Norroy King at Arms, fee — 20 l.
Kings Heralds ſeven, fee evry one — 13 l. 6 s. 8 d.
Pourſuyvants at Arms four, fee apiece — 10 l.
Sargeants at Arms twenty five, fee evry one — 18 l. 5 s.
Standard-bearer, fee — 100 l.
Banner-bearer, fee — 100 l.

The Admiralty.

Lord High Admiral of *England*, fee — 200 *Marks*.
Vice-Admiral, fee — 100 *Marks*.
Two Clerks { fee of the one — 18 l. 5 s.
fee of the other — 15 l. 1 s. 8 d.
Boat-hire upon all occaſions — 10 l.
Riding-charges during his travel, *per diem* — 10 s.
Treſurer of the Navie, fee — 100 *Marks*.
Two Clerks, fee 8 d. *per diem* — 24 l. 6 s. 8 d.
Riding-charges upon occaſion *per diem* — 6 s. 8 d.
Maſter of the Ordnance, fee — 100 *Marks*.
Three Clerks, fee among them *per diem* — 3 s. 4 d.
Boat-hire upon all occaſions — 8 l.
Riding-charges *per diem* — 6 s. 8 d.
Controuler of the Navie, fee — 50 l.
Two Clerks, each *per diem* — 8 d.
Boat-hire — 8 l.
Riding-coſts *per diem* — 4 s.
Survayor, fee — 40 l.

Two

Two Clerks, each *per diem* — 8 *d.*
Riding-coſts *per diem* — 4 *s.*
Boat-hire upon all occaſions — 8 *l.*
Clerk of the Ships, fee — 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Boat-hire upon all occaſions — 6 *l.*
Riding-coſts *per diem* — 3 *s.* 4 *d.*
Clerk of the Store-houſe at *Deptford*, fee — 33 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
One Clerk ſubſervient — 6 *l.*
Pilot, fee — 20 *l.*
Victualler of the Navie, fee — 58 *l.*
One Clerk, *per diem* — 8 *d.*
Riding-coſts *per diem* — 5 *s.*

The Ordnance.

Maſter of the Ordnance, fee — 151 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.*
Two Clerks { one *per diem* — 10 *d.* / the other — 8 *d.*
Surveyor, fee — 36 *l.* 10 *s.*
One Clerk, *per diem* — 8 *d.*
Riding-coſts *per diem* — 6 *s.*
Lieutenant of the Ordnance, fee — 100 *Marks.*
One Clerk, *per diem* — 8 *d.*
Boat-hire upon all occaſions — 8 *l.*
Riding-coſts — 0 *s.* 0 *d.*
Keeper of the great Store, fee — 40 *l.*
Clerk, *per diem* — 8 *d.*
Riding-coſts — 0 *s.* 0 *d.*
Keeper of the ſmall Store, fee — 40 *Marks.*
Riding-coſts — 0 *s.* 0 *d.*
Clerk of the Deliveries, fee — 20 *l.*
Maſter-Gunner of *England*, fee *per diem* — 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
Gunſtone-maker, fee *per diem* 12 *d.* — 18 *l.* 5 *s.*
Saltpeter-maker, fee — 18 *l.* 5 *s.*
Two Gun-founders — 33 *l.* 9 *s.* 2 *d.*
Gun-ſmith, fee 6 *d. per diem* — 9 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*
Engin-Artificer, fee *per diem* 4 *d.* — 6 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.*
Maſter-Carpenter, fee *per diem* 8 *d.* — 12 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.*
Ordinary Gunners or Cannoneers, one hundred and nine, fee — 1161 *l.* 18 *s.* 4 *d.*
Yeoman of the Ordnance, fee *per diem* 9 *d.* — 13 *l.* 14 *s.* 1 *d.*

The Tower of London.

Conſtables fee — 100 *l*
Lieutenants fee — 200 *l.*

Por-

Porters fee——9 l. 2 s. 6 d.
Yeomen-Waiters or Warders, fee——9 l. 2 s. 6 d.
Allowance for Fuel——6 l. 13 s. 4 d.
Keeper of the Lions, &c. fee——36 l. 14 s. 6 d.
Carpenter, fee——12 l. 3 s. 4 d.
Keeper of the Wardrobe, fee——12 l. 13 s. 4 d.

The Armary.

Maſter of the Armary, fee——31 l. 18 s. 9 d.
Armarers under the Maſter, twenty, one at——36 l.
Five, evry one at——20 l.
Three, evry one at——15 l.
The reſt evry one at——9 l. 2 s. 6 d.

The Mint.

Maſter, or Treſurer of the Mint, fee——100 l.
Controuler of the Mint, fee——100 *Marks.*
Aſſay-maſter, fee——100 *Marks.*
Clerk of the Mint, fee——10 l.
Auditor of the Mint, fee——44 l. 6 s. 8 d.
Allowance for Paper, Parchment, and other neceſſaries——10 l.
Teller of the Money, fee——33 l. 6 s. 8 d.
Survayor of the Melting-houſe, fee——26 l. 13 s. 4 d.
Clerk of the Irons, fee——13 l. 6 s. 8 d.
Chief Graver, fee——30 l.
Chief Finer, fee——10 l.
Sinker of Irons, fee——10 l.
Three Melters, fee evry one——13 l. 6 s. 8 d.
Two Branchers, fee evry one——13 l. 6 s. 8 d.
Pourvoyer, fee——10 l.
Pot-maker, fee——10 l.
Porter, fee——10 l.
Diet to all theſe Officers by the week——1 l. 10 s.

The high Court of Chancery.

Lord Chancellor, or Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, fee *per diem* 23 s.——419 l.
For his attendance in the Star-chamber——200 l.
More by name of Annuity——300 l.
Robes out of the Wardrobe——40 l.
Wine out of the Butlery twelve Tuns——72 l.
Wax out of the Wardrobe——17 l.
Sum. allocat. per an.——1048 l.

Ma-

Master of the Rolls, fee ——— 341. 15 s. 8 d.
Livery out of the Hamper ——— 281. 8 s. 4 d.
Masters of the Chancery, fee apiece ——— 61. 13 s. 4 d.
Clerk of the Crown, fee ——— 201.
Livery for Summer and Winter ——— 261. 13 s. 4 d.
Protonotary, fee ——— 331. 13 s. 4 d.
Clerk of the Hamper, fee ——— 431. 13 s. 4 d.
Annuity ——— 401.
Livery for himself and his Clerk ——— 61. 13 s. 4 d.
Controuler of the Hamper, fee ——— 101.
Enrollers of Evidences, fee ——— 201.
Seal, fee ——— 61. 16 s. 10 l.
Livery ——— 20 s.
Sargeant at Arms, fee ——— 181. 5 s.
Cryer, Fee and Livery ——— 71. 16 s. 10 d.
Chafer of Wax ——— 71. 6 s. 7 d.
Necessary charges of Wax, Parchment, Paper, Riding Coats, and other yearly Expences ——— 2201.

The Privie Seal.

Lord Keeper of the Privie Seal, fee *per diem* ——— 1 l.
Allowd for his Table at Court ——— 345 l.
Clerks of the Privie Seal, fee apiece ——— 50 l.
Four Masters of the Requests, fee apiece ——— 100 l.

The Kings Bench.

Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, who holds his place onely by a short Writ, not by Patent as others do, for his Fee, Reward and Robes ——— 2081. 6 s. 8 d.
Wine two Tuns ——— 10 l.
Allowance for Justice of Assize ——— 20 l.
To three Justices assistants, Fee, Reward, and Robes apiece ——— 1281. 6 s. 8 d.
Allowance to evry one as Justice of Assize ——— 20 l.
Clerk of the Crown, fee ——— 10 l.
Livery out of the Wardrobe ——— 61. 13 s. 4 d.
Protonotary, fee ——— 261. 13 s. 4 d.
Keeper of the Writs and Rolls, fee ——— 8 l.
Cryer, fee ——— 61. 13 s. 4 d.

The Common Pleas.

Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Fee, Reward and Robes ——— 1411. 13 s. 4 d.

Wine out of the Butlery, two Tuns——8 *l.*
Allowance for keeping the Aſſize of the Augmentation-Court——12 *l.* 10 *s.*
Allowance for Juſtice of Aſſize——20 *l.*
Three coadjutant Juſtices, Fee, Reward and Robes to evry one——128 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Allowance for being Juſtices of Aſſize——20 *l.*
Attorney-General, fee——61 *l.*
Allowance for being Juſtice of Aſſize——20 *l.*
Sollicitor-General, fee——50 *l.*
Keeper of the Writs and Rolls, fee——4 *l.*
Four Sargeants at Law, to each Fee, Rewards and Robes——26 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Allowance as Juſtice of Aſſize——20 *l.*
Allowance for keeping the Aſſizes of the Court of Augmentations——12 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Cryer, fee——5 *l.*

Chief Officers of the Kings Revenues, and of the Exchequer.

The Lord High Treſurer of *England*, fee——368 *l.*
Robes out of the Wardrobe——15 *l.* 7 *s.* 8 *d.*
Wine ſo many Tuns Impoſt free——0 *l.* 0 *s.* 0 *d.*
Allowance for Diet——0 *l.* 0 *s.* 0 *d.*
Chancellor of the Exchequer, fee——113 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Livery out of the Wardrobe——12 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.*
Tuns of Wine Impoſt free——0 *l.* 0 *s.* 0 *d.*

Officers of the Exchequer-Court.

Lord Chief Baron, fee——100 *l.*
Livery out of the Wardrobe——12 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.*
Allowance for being Juſtice of Aſſize——20 *l.*
Tuns of Wine Impoſt free——0 *l.* 0 *s.* 0 *d.*
The Barons of the Exchequer, to each fee——46 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Livery out of the Wardrobe——12 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.*
Allowance for being Juſtices of Aſſize——20 *l.*

Other Officers of the Exchequer.

The Kings Remembrancer, fee——55 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.*
Livery out of the Wardrobe——4 *l.* 12 *s.* 4 *d.*
The Lord Treſurers Remembrancer, fee——46 *l.* 2 *s.* 1 *d.*
Livery out of the Wardrobe——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Clerk of the Pipe, fee——65 *l.* 4 *s.* 2 *d.*
Livery, *&c.*——2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Under-

Under-Treſurer of the Exchequer, fee——73 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Livery, *&c.*——4 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Seven Auditors, fee evry one——10 *l.*
Forren Oppoſers, fee——16 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Clerk of the Extreats, fee——15 *l.*
Clerk of the Pleas, fee——5 *l.*
Clerk of the Summons, fee——4 *l.*
Two Marſhals, fee apiece——4 *l.*
Two Deputy-Chamberlains, fees apiece——2 *l.* 10 *s.*
Two Secondaries in the Kings Remembrancers Office, fee evry one——8 *l.*
Two Secondaries in the Pipe-Office, fee——5 *l.*
Four Secondaries in the Treſurers Remembrancers Office, fee evry one——4 *l.*
Clerks of the Tallies, fee evry one——17 *l.* 10 *s.*
Clerk of the Pell, fee——17 *l.* 10 *s.*
Four Tellers, fee evry one——13 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Clerk in the Pipe-Office for offring Amercements, fee——9 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Clerk in the Office of the Kings Remembrancer, fee for writing the Fines, Iſſues and Amercements due to the King evry year——15 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Clerk in the Office of the Treſurers Remembrancer, fee for offering the Amercements——6 *l.*
Clerk in the Office of the Pleas, fee——3 *l.*
The four Uſhers of the Court of Exchequer for their fees, in delivery of Proceſſes, and for Paper, Wax, and other neceſſaries by them provided, and bought for the Officers of the Court amongſt them——140 *l.*
Four Porters, Livery to evry one——4 *s.*
Two Joyners for Tallies, fees apiece——19 *l.*
Two Deputy-Chamberlains to write the controulment of the Pell, fees apiece——6 *l.*
One Clerk to write the Tallies of Controulment, fee——9 *l.*
One Porter of the Baggs, and Keeper of the Treſure-Houſe-Keys, fee——6 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Four Meſſengers, fee *per diem*——4 *d. ob.*
The Grooms of the Receits fee by Rewards and Allowances——2 *l.*
To the Treſurers, and Chamberlains Officers, allowd for Parchment——6 *l.*
Three Uſhers of the Receits, Fees, for Diet, Wax, Paper, Parchment, *&c.*——60 *l.*

The Court of First-fruits and Tenths.

Chancellor, fee——200 *Marks.*
Diet-money——100 *l.*
Hire for a houſe for himſelf, and for the Records——9 *l.*
Treſurer, fee——20 *l.*
Diet-money——10 *l.*
Houſe-rent——10 *l.*
A Deputy——4 *l.*
A Clerk——6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Attorney, fee——26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Auditor, fee——20 *l.*
Diet-money——51 *l.* 10 *s.*
One Clerk——6 *l.* 3 *s.* 4 *d.*

Other Allowances and Expences.

Clerk of the Court, fee——40 *l.*
Keeper of the Records, fee——20 *l.*
Meſſenger, fee——2 *l.* 10 *s.* 7 *d.*
Allowance——13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Uſher, fee——2 *l.* 10 *s.* 7 *d.*
Allowance——3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*

The Dutchy of Lancaſter.

Chancellor, and Allowance with 4 *l.* for Paper, Ink and Parchment——142 *l.* 16 *s.*
Survayor, Fee, and Allowance——66 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*
Attorney, Fee, and Allowance——38 *l.* 10 *s.* 4 *d.*
Clerk of the Court, Fee and Allowance——27 *l.* 10 *s.* 4 *d.*
Meſſenger, Fee beſides Riding coſts——10 *l.*

Aſſiſtants in the ſaid Court.

One Attorney for the Dutchy in the Exchequer, fee——100 *l.*
Attorney likewiſe in the Chancery, fee——20 *l.*
To the Uſher of the Receits in the Exchequer, fee——20 *l.*
Four learned men in the Law retained for Counſel for the ſaid Dutchy, fee evry one——7 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Beſides Auditors, Receivers, *&c.*

The

The Presidential Court in Wales, *or the Council of the Marches.*

Lord President, Diet for himself and Council *per an.*	1040 *l.*
Divers Counsellors, to some	100 *Marks.*
To others	50 *l.*
To others	40 *l.*
Secretary, his fee	13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Attorney, fee	13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*
Sollicitor, fee	10 *l.*
Surveyor, fee	6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Touching the Presidential Court in the *North*, where ther was usd to be also a Lord President, four of the Learned Counsel, a Secretary and other Officers, the King saves nere upon 2000 *l. per an.*

The like sum or therabouts is savd by the Court of *Wards*, though the *loss* which the Crown of *England* hath receavd therby in point of honour & by *Tenures* in *Capite*, and Royal Pourvoyances, *&c.* be invaluable; which makes our next Forren Neighbours in a kinde of jeer (and the best of their wit lies in jeering) to say, that all the Noblemen and Gentry of *England*, since Tenure *in Capite* was taken away, are become little better then *Roturiers*, then Yeomen that hold in *Soccage*.

The former Catalog of Court-Officers was delivered to King *James* at his first coming in, And ther may be some alterations since. Now ther is a mighty number of other Officers belonging to the Crown: as *Auditors*, *Receavors*, *Surveyors*, *Escheators*, *Customers*; *Governors* and *Constables* of Castles, Keepers of *Forts*, *Points* and *Bulwarks*; *Rangers* of *Forests*; *Keepers* of *Chaces*, *Parks* and *Woods*, *&c.* which wold make a Volume of it self, and is not so proper to the designe of this subject, which aims principally at the Menial and *domestick* servants attending at Court, though we have bin transported as we went along to other Offices.

Out of the premises this result may be drawn, that besides the unparallelld plenty, fatness and hospitality of the English Court in point of provision, and *munition de Bouche*, as the Frenchman calls it, Ther is no Court in Christendom serv'd with more punctual attendance and state; wheras if you cross ore the *Chanel*, and take a view of the next transmarin *Court*, one shall see common Laquays, Scullions, and greasie Galopins bring meat to the very rayls of the Kings Table: And touching the *Spanish* Court, tis so pitifully thin at dinner and supper-time, that one wold think he were in some Monastery of Capuchins: But go

to either of their Kitchins, one *may break his neck as ſoon as break his Faſt.* While I was writing *this*, a pleſant Repartie came into my memory that happend twixt that worthy and warlike Britiſh Knight Sir *Roger Williams*, (who being *General* of an Engliſh Army in *Frante*, *Henry* the Great confeſſd to be a better Soldier then himſelf) Sir *Roger* being at an Ordinary in *Antwerp*, where among others ther was a Spaniſh *Alferez* who began to ſpeak much of the dainty *Fruits* and *Salades* of his Country, Sir *Roger* let him go on a good while, and at laſt anſwered bluntly, 'Tis tru Sir we have not ſuch Lemons, Orenges, and Pomegranats which you have in *Spain*, but we have in *England* good Chines of Beef, and Sirloyns of Veal, *&c. we have the meat, and you have but ſauce for our meat.* I will cloſe up this Paragraph with this humble Advertiſement; That it highly concerns the common intereſt of the Engliſh Nation to introduce again, and revive the moſt ancient and legal uſage of his Majeſties juſt rights of Preemption, and *Pourveance* or compoſitions for them; Otherwiſe it is impoſſible for him to keep a Court any thing ſutable to a King of *Great Britain.*

The Eighth Paragraph.

Touching the diverſity of Nations, and diffring Original Mother-Tongs, with other Dialects, that are under the Dominions of the King of Great Britain :
As alſo,
Of the variety of Royal Recreations, number of Palaces, Foreſts, Chaces and Parks, which belong to the Crown, &c.

THe greateſt Antiquaries and Linguiſts that treat of Tongs, and of their Originals, do affirm that ther are eleven *Maternal* Tongs throughout all *Europe*, which are 1. the *Greek*, 2. the *Latin*, 3. the *High-Dutch*, *Teutonick* or German, 4. the *Slavonian*, which hath two Characters, both a *Greek* and *Dalmatian* character, which come neer the ſhape of the *Latin*; Then ther is 5. the *Britiſh* or *Welſh* Toung; 6. *Iriſh*; 7. The *Baſcuence* or *Cantabrian*, which is the reliques of the old *Spaniſh*, or *Iberian* toung; 8. the *Albanian*, of a peeple who inhabit about the mountains of *Epirus*; 9. the *Hungarian*, which came into *Europe* out of *Aſia* with the *Huns*; 10. Is that of *Finland*, neer to which is that of *Lapland* in the North of *Sweden*; 11. Is that of the *Coſacks*, and *Tartars.* Of all theſe the *Slavonian* is of largeſt extent; for it is obſerved that three and twenty ſeveral Nations ſpeak it.

Now, The *French* King hath not one *Mother*, and pure independent Toung ſpoken in all his Dominions; they are but *dialects*,

lects, Languages or Speeches derivd from other Toungs: The pureſt *French*, which is ſpoken at Court, and upon the river of *Loire*, is but a dialect of the *Roman* or *Latin* Toung; ſo is the *Walloon*, the *Proveſal*, the *Gaſcoon*, the *Limoſin*, and others: That of *Bearn* is but a Dialect of the *Baſcuence* and *Gaſcon*; That of *Britany* or *Armorica* is but a dialect of the ancient *Britiſh* continued ſo wonderfully in *Wales* after ſo many revolutions and changes of diffring Nations to this day.

Indeed the King of *Spain* hath an old Maternal Toung under his Dominions, which is the *Cantabrian* or *Baſcuence*; all the reſt are but ſeveral Idiomes or Dialects derived from the *Latin*, and inlayd with a multitude of *Moriſco* words. The *Caſtilian*, the *Portugues*, the *Catalan*, the *Valenciano*, are *Dialects* of the *Latin*.

But the King of *Great Britain* hath two pure ancient *Mother*-Toungs within his Dominions; which is the *Britiſh*, or old *Comraecan* Toung; And the *Iriſh* or *Hibernian* Toung, which are ſubſiſtent of themſelfs, and have no derivation or affinity at all with any other Toung. Ther are ſix Dialects alſo ſpoken in his Kingdomes; The *Engliſh*, which is a dialect of the *Saxon* or high-*Dutch*; Ther is the *Scotiſh*, which is a ſub-dialect of the *Engliſh*; Ther is the *Mankmen*, or they of the Ile of *Man*, which is alſo a ſub-dialect of the *Welſh*. Ther is the *Highlander* or *Redſhank*, which is a dialect of the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh*; Ther is the *Corniſh*, which is a dialect of the *Welſh*; And the Language of *Jerſey* and *Gernſey* (the only remains that are left us of *Normandy*) which is a dialect of the *French*. Now, It cannot be ſoberly denied but that it is an addition of Honour to the King of *Great Britain* to have more Mother-Toungs (reſervd yet in his Dominions, and as it were unconquerd) then his two Neighbour-Kings.

Touching variety of Palaces, and change of Royal Manſions, he may compare, if not out-go any of the other Kings: For within half a days journey of *London* he hath eight ſeveral Houſes, and divers elſwhere; wheras the French King hath but the *Louvre*, *Fountainbleau*, *Bois de Vincennes*, *St. Germain de Laye*, and *Madrid*, a ſmall ruinous pile of ſtones which *Francis* the firſt cauſd to be erected in commemoration of his captivity ſo many yeers in *Madrid* in *Spain* in a ſmall Brick Houſe, wherinto ther was a low little dore built by the command of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, of purpoſe to make the King ſtoop when he entred; which he obſerving, becauſe he ſhould not bow his head, went in backward, putting in his bum firſt.

The King of *Spain* hath but his *Palace*, and *La Caſa de buen retiro* in *Madrid*; he hath *Aranjuez* with the *Pardo* between *Madrid* and the *Eſcurial*; where he hath a Royal Houſe, yet it is but a Cantle of a Monaſtery, tis but the handle of a Gridiron, which

which that great ſtructure reſembles, in memory of the Martyr St *Laurence*; *Philip* the ſecond having bin forced, for the advantage of avenues to batter down a *Convent* dedicated to that Saint a little before the battail of St *Quinten*, where he provd Victorious againſt the French; and to perform a Vow he then made, he built the Monaſtery of Saint *Laurence* at the *Eſcurial*.

Now, touching all the forefaid Palaces in *France* and *Spain*, *Winſore*-Caſtle may compare with any for Magnitude, Majeſty and State; As Sir *Thomas Roe*, who had bin Ambaſſador at the great *Mogors* Court, at the Seraglio of the *Gran Senior*, at the *German Emperours*, at the *French*, *Polonian*, *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* Courts; I ſay, Sir *Thomae Roe* did confidently and knowingly affirm, that *Winſor*-Caſtle may not only compare, but have the *precedence* of all the reſt, in point of Grandeur, Majeſty, Situation and Statelineſs.

Moreover, the King of *Great Britain* hath Lodges, and other places of pleſure without number; In regard of ſo many *Foreſts*, *Chaces* and *Parks* that are annexd to the Crown. Touching *Foreſts*, ther is no Potentat on Earth hath ſo many, I may truly avouch. Now, a *Foreſt* is a Franchiſe of ſo Princely a tenure, that according to the Laws of *England* none but the King himſelf can have a *Foreſt*; if he chance to paſs one over to a ſubject, tis no more *Foreſt*, but a *Frank Chaſe*. A Foreſt hath peculiar Laws of her own to take cognizance of, and puniſh all Treſpaſſes: A *Foreſt* hath her Court of Attachments, or *Swainmote*-Court where matters are as legally pleadable as at *Weſtminſter*-Hall. The *Hart*, the *Hind*, the *Hare*, the *Bore*, and the *Wolf*, are *Foreſt*-beaſts; The *Buck*, the *Doe*, the *Fox*, the *Matron*, the *Roe*, belong to a *Chace* and *Park*. And all theſe kind of Recreations the King of *Great Britain* hath in ſo many *Foreſts*, wherof ther are in *England* (beſides thirteen Chaces, and ſeven hundred eighty one Parks) theſe whoſe names follow alphabetically.

Foreſts name.	*County.*	Foreſts name.	*County.*
1. *Applegarth*	Ebor. N. Rid.	13. *Chur.*	Hamp.
2. *Arundel*	Suſſex.	14. *Charnwood.*	Leiceſter.
3. *Aſhdown.*	Suſſex.	15. *Chul.*	Wilt.
4. *Bear*-Foreſt.	Hamp.	16. *Coidrath.*	Pembr.
5. *Birnwood*	Buck.	17. *Copland.*	Cumb.
6. *Blackmore.*	Wilt.	18. *Dallington*	Suff.
7. *Bletbvay.*	Radnor.	19. *Dartmore.*	Devon.
8. *Bowland.*	Lanc.	20. *Delamere.*	Cheſh.
9. *Braden.*	Wilt.	21. *Dene.*	Gloc.
10. *Buckholt.*	Hamp.	22. *Dereford.*	Salop.
11. *Cantſelly.*		23. *Waterdown*	Suſſ.
12. *Cardith.*	Caermar.	24. *Exmere.*	Devon.

25. *Fec-*

Forests name.	*County.*
25. *Feckenham.*	Wigorn.
26. *The Forest.*	Cardig.
27. *Fromselwood.*	Somers.
28. *Gaiternack.*	Wilt.
29. *Gautry.*	Ebor.
30. *Gillingham.*	Dors.
31. *Hatfield.*	Essex.
32. *Harwood.*	Salop.
33. *Haye.*	Heref.
34. *Holt.*	Dors.
35. *Huckstow.*	
36. *Inglewood.*	Cumb.
37. *Knaresburg.*	Ebor.
38. *Kings wood.*	Gloc.
39. *Knuckles.*	Radnor.
40. *Leicester.*	Leicest.
41. *St. Leonards.*	Suss.
42. *Lounsdale.*	
43. *Lowes.*	Northumb.
44. *Lune.*	Ebor.
45. *Leyfield.*	Rutl.
46. *Mallerstang.*	Westm.
47. *Mocktry.*	Salop.
48. *Narborth.*	Pemb.
49. *Neroch.*	Som.
50. *New Forest.*	Hamp.
51. *New Forest.*	Ebor.
52. *Peak.*	Derb.
53. *Pewsham.*	Wilt.
54. *Pickring.*	Ebor.
55. *Radnor.*	Radnor.
56. *Roscob.*	Card.
57. *Rockingham.*	Northam.
58. *Sapler.*	
59. *Savernack.*	Wilt.
60. *Sherwood.*	Notingh.
61. *Selwood.*	Som.
62. *Saucy.*	North.
63. *Wabridg.*	Hunt.
64. *Waltham.*	Essex.
65. *West Forest.*	Hamp.
66. *Westward.*	Cumb.
67. *Whichwood.*	Oxf.
68. *Winfield.*	Westm.
69. *Whitehart.*	
70. *Whittlewood.*	Northam.
71. *Whitway.*	
72. *Wyersdale.*	Lanc.
73. *Winsore.*	Bark.
74. *Wolmer.*	
75. *Wood.*	Ebor.
76. *Worth.*	Suss.
77. *Wutmer.*	Hamp.

This is the old number of *Forests* in *England* (wherof a few, as *Blackmore* in Wiltshire, with others, are deforested) which Forests cannot by the Laws be in any ones hands but the Kings; and the reason is, because none hath power to grant a Commission for Justice in *Eire* but the King, which *Justice* is to keep a Court evry three yeers once, but the *Swainmoot*-Court evry one yeer thrice. *Forests* were at first for the Kings Princely delight, Venery and plesure, meerd with unremoveable marks and boundaries; And the old Law is, *Omnis homo abstineat a Venariis meis super pœnam vitæ*: It was capital to hunt in any of the Kings *Forests* without leave.

Now, if one shold make the *Perambulation* of all *France* and *Spain*, he will not find half the number of Forests in both Kingdoms: And whether this be not a notable advantage to the King of *Great Britain* in point of Honour, let any unpassionat and sober-minded man determine.

The Ninth Paragraph.

Touching the Prudential Laws and Conſtitutions of Great Britain, *relating to Prince and Peeple :*
As alſo,
The Eminence and Variety of Honours which the King can confer, &c.

WHat the Arteries, Nerſs and Cartilages are to the Body *Natural*, the ſame are *Laws* to the *Political*; they are the *Ligaments* of a Kingdom, which connect and tie all ſorts of peeple, though of ſo many different humors, in one Goverment, and under one Souverain head.

The *Common* Law of *England*, though in ſome things it differs from the *Civil*, by which moſt parts of *Europe* are governd, yet it hath the rationability and juſtneſs, the general notions and aym of the *Civil* Law, which is to preſerve evry one in the poſſeſſion of his own, and the Souverain Prince in honour, power and Safety. The main quarrel againſt it, is, that it wants *Method*, and that it is not reducible to any, or capable to be digeſted into ſuch a *Pandect* as the Civil Law is. Wherunto it may be anſwered, That the Common Law of *England* hath for its grounds 1. *Cuſtome*, 2. *Judicial Records*, And 3. *Acts of Parlement* or *Statuts*. The two later being declarations of the Common or *Cuſtomary* Law of the Land, are methodizd and digeſted to order, as the book of Statuts, *&c.* whence the Sheriffs, the Juſtices of peace, and Conſtables, with other Officers, may learn their duties, and how to execut their places, and any ſubject els may know how to keep himſelf within the bounds of his obedience. But the Common Law of the Land conſiſting of Caſes, Precedents and Judgments, as alſo of Immemorial and Uninterrupted *Municipal* Cuſtoms, which being no *Written* Things, Therfore it is no wonder that the profeſſors therof have not bin ſo curious, to attempt hitherto the *Methodizing* of that Art which conſiſts moſt of Cuſtom and Uſage; yet fair Eſſays are made daily for better retaining the ſame in memory, by putting *particular Caſes* under *general Rules*, wherof ther are divers Volums frequently publiſhd of late yeers.

Now, the Laws of *England* look two ways, either upon the *Souverain Prince*, or upon the peeple : Touching the later, ther is no Law upon earth ſo careful and tender of a mans life (or livelihood) be he the meaneſt ſubject under the Crown, as the Common Law of *England* is : For wheras in other Countries a ſingle Judge and Witneſs may take away ones life (or eſtate) wherof the one may be *ſuborn'd*, the other *corrupted*; tis not ſo in

Eng-

England, but beſides Witneſſes and Judges, ther be two ſorts of *Juries*, one the Grand Inqueſt, which conſiſts of twenty four Gentlemen, or able Freeholders, to conſider by a previous conſultation of all Bills of Inditement to be preferd to the Judicial Court, which upon ſtrict examination they either approve, and transfer to the Court by writing upon the Bill, *Billa vera*; or they diſallow it by writing *Ignoramus*. Such cauſes as they approve, if they concern *Life* and *Death*, are further referrd to another *Jury* to conſider of, becauſe the caſe is of ſuch importance; but others of lighter moment, are upon their allowance fined by the Bench without more ado, Except the party traverſe the Inditement, or chalenge it for inſufficiencie, or remove the Cauſe to a higher Court by a *Certiorari*, in which two former caſes it is referrd to another Jury, and in the later tranſmitted to a higher; and preſently upon the allowance of this Bill by the Grand Inqueſt, the party is ſaid to be Indited; but ſuch as they diſallow are deliverd to the Bench, by whom they are forthwith cancelld or torn. The Indited party being to ſtand afterwards at the Bar, and deſiring to be tryed by *God* and his *Country*, ther is a Petty Jury empannelld of Twelve, who bear the publick repute of honeſt men; and the Law of *England* is ſo indulgent of life, that the priſoner may *challenge* or except againſt any to ſuch a number; and withal a Butcher, who is inurd to bloud and ſlaughter, is incapable by the Law to be a Jury-man for life. So the ſaid Jury, after a ſtrict and painful examination of the Fact, with all the leaſt circumſtances therof, deliver their Verdict according to their conſciences, wherby the Judg doth acquit or condemn the party according to the quality of the offence: nor can any *pecuniary* Mulct ſatisfie for the life of any, as it is in other Countries. And as the Common Law of *England* is thus ſo tender of humane *life*, ſo it is as cautious, indulgent and careful of the *livelihood* and propriety of the meaneſt ſubject in the Land, which in caſe of controverſie is done alſo by Jury, and put home to the Conſciences of twelve indifferent good men, and not left only to the breaſt and opinion of any one Judge, be he never ſo learned, and incorrupt. The Engliſh Law likewiſe favors Widows and Orphans, and the poor have Counſel appointed them *gratis*, &c.

It appeers out of the premiſſes what a great regard the Common Law of *England*, the *Lex Terræ*, hath to the lifes and properties of the *peeple* in point of Juſtice. Now in point of Reverence and Loyalty to the Souverain Prince (which is more pertinent to this diſourſe) ther is no Law hath higher regards likewiſe that way, nor alſo to his honour and dignity, to his welfare and ſafety, to his Royal Prerogatives and glory, which Prerogatives intrinſecally ſtick, and are inherent in the Crown, yet

yet are *they*, and the *Liberties* of the Subject determined, and bound by the Law. The Laws of *England* make the *King* their *Protector*; and reason good, for they are his own *Productions*, tis he that puts life into them; They bear such reverence to his person, that in his *Presence* none can be seizd, or violently layd hands on, or arrested, his very *presence* being a *Protection* for the time: He who giveth but a blow to any in his Court, the Law adjudgeth him to loose his Right hand. The Law sayth that the King hath his Title to the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain*, and to his Kingly Office and power, not as a *fiduciary* thing conveyed from the people, but by inherent *birthright*, and inalienable heritage immediatly from God, from Nature, and from the fundamental Constitutions of the Land: He hath not only *Jus paternum*, a paternal power over his subjects, but *Jus despoticum & herile*: he hath *dominion* over them, which Dominion is devolvd upon him *gratiâ Dei*, by Divine dispensation and favour. Ther is no Alleageance or Fealty due to any other power but to the King. The Law is so careful of the sacred person of the King, that it reacheth unto the very *thoughts*, and restrains them from machination of any evil against him: For the Law says it is Treson to *Imagine* mischief against the King, much more to attempt, act and execute it.

The Common Law of *England* makes the King the Supreme and independent Governour, And all other persons derive their power and authority from him, either by his Royal Writ, Patent or Commission. The Law presupposeth that he sits not only at the *Kings Bench*, but in other Courts of Judicature; for the Writs go, *Teste meipso*: And because the Law sayth that the King must govern in *Mercie* and Justice, the sole power of *Pardoning* is in Him.

Moreover, the power of *Coinage* is only in the King, with the enhancing or decrying the price of money: He is the sole Gran Master of the *Mint*; wheras in *France* others partake with the King in this high *Prerogative*: Nor doth any Kings *Face* shine in purer Metal; for it shines onely in pure Gold and Silver, and that of the finest Standard, Mixture and Allay of any in *Europe*: wheras I have seen and felt the face of the *French* King in Copper and Brass, with other mixt mongrel stuff; As also of the King of *Spain's*, though he terms himself the Monark of Gold and Silver Mines; yet the common currant Coyn twixt Merchant and Mechanick is *Copper*, wherin the *Hollander* by his cunning hath done him a world of mischief from time to time, by counterfaiting that Copper Coyn, and foysting it in by divers artifices; as in a ship laden with Lead and Tin, ther wold be somtimes divers Sows of Lead hollowed and crammd with *quartils*, as also in hollowed Masts, with other inventions; Insomuch

ſomuch that one time, when all the *Vellon* or Copper Coin was calld in, and a ſcrutiny made how much had bin coynd, ther were many millions more found to be brought in, and counterfaited, then had bin ſtampd in the Kings Mint.

By the Common Law of the Land, the King of *Great Britain* hath three Royal Enſignes which cannot belong to any other: He hath the *Crown*, the *Scepter*, and the (*Polemical*) *Sword*, (as I have mentiond in another Treatiſe, and is proper to *touch* here.) By the firſt, He *reigns*; by the ſecond he *makes Laws*; by the third, *viz.* the *Sword*, He *protects* them. Concerning the *Crown*, or Royal Diadem, the Laws of *England* aſſert, that it deſcends upon his head by a right Hereditary line, though through divers ancient Royal Races, wherof ſome were *Conquerors*. The *Crown* is *His*, as much as any mans *Cap's* his own; And ther is no Crown ſtuck with fairer Flowers, I mean *Royal Prerogatives*, wherof divers were ſpoken of before.

Concerning the *Scepter*, it may be calld an Individual Copartner, or a Royal Appendix to the Crown: It doth capacitate the King to Enact Laws: for before his *Aſſent*, all the Reſults and Determinations of Parlement are but *Bills*; they may be ſaid to be but abortive things, and meer Embryos; nay, they have no life at all in them, till the King by his breath infuſeth vigour and animation into them; and the ancient Cuſtom was for the King to touch them with the *Scepter*, then they are *Laws*, and have a virtue in them to impoſe an univerſal obligation upon all ſorts of peeple. Now, it is an undeniable Principle of the Law of *England*, That nothing can be generally binding without the Kings Royal Aſſent, nor doth the Law take notice of any thing without it: This makes Them to be calld afterwards the *Kings Laws*; and the Judges are ſaid to deliver the *Kings Judgments*: nay, he himſelf is always Lord Chief Juſtice of *England*, which Title is not aſſumable by any Subject. Now, before an Engliſh Law is made, ther is mature and mighty long *deliberation* goes before: for firſt the buſineſs is agitated and canvaſd many days in the Houſe of Commons (which repreſents all the peeple of *England*) till it comes to the ripeneſs of a Bill: The Bill being drawn, is read thrice in the Houſe; and having paſſd the brunt of all Exception, tis engroſsd and tranſmitted to the Lords; and there alſo tis read *thrice*, and debated with much deliberation: Then by concurrence of both Houſes tis preſented to the King, who conſults with his Learned Counſel whether ther be any thing therin derogatory to his Prerogatives: if not, He gives his Royal Aſſent, and then tis created a *Law*, and generally binding. Touching the power of the *Sword*, it is more proper to treat of it in the next Paragraph.

Moreover, the *Lex Terræ*, the Common Law of *England*

makes the King the *Fountain of Honour*; nay, without any diſparagement or offence be it ſpoken, He can confer Honor upon other Kings, and Souverain Princes, as he is Souverain of the Order of *Saint George*, wherof ther have bin eight *Emperors*; five Kings of the *French*, four of *Spain*, ſeven of *Portugal*, two of the *Scots*, four of *Denmark*, three of *Naples*, one of *Poland*, and another of *Sweden*; two Dukes of *Urbine*, one of *Millain*, one of *Ferrara*, one of *Savoy*, one of *Calabria*, one of *Holland*, one of *Gueldres*; four Princes of *Orenge*, ſeven *Counts Palatin* of the *Rhin*; two Dukes of *Brunſwick*, two of *Holſtain*, one of *Brandenburgh*, and one Duke of *Wittenberg*, with divers other Forren Princes.

Now, among all Orders purely Military, ther is not any now remaining in the Chriſtian world, either more ancient or honorable then the Noble Order of *Saint George*, wherof the *Garter* is a Symbole; therfore are they calld *Equites periſcelidis*, Knights of the moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*; which *Order* was firſt inſtituted by that Victorious King *Edward the third*, (who was offerd to be Emperour) *Anno* 1350. which was threeſcore yeers wanting one before the Inſtitution of the *French* Order of *S. Michael* by *Lewis* the eleventh; and 229 yeers before the Order of *St. Eſprit* by *Henry the third*; and full fourſcore yeers before the erection of the Order of the *Golden Fleece* by *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*: It is alſo 209 more ancient then the Order of the Knights of the *Elephant*, which was deviſd by the Kings of *Denmark*; and much more then that of *Amaranta* excogitated by *Sweden*, &c. Now obſervable it is, that among all theſe Orders, *l'ordre del toiſon d'or*, the Order of the Golden Fleece related to the Engliſh *Wools* which were tranſported to *Flanders* by our Merchants, wherby all the Provinces adjoyning did ſo infinitly enrich themſelfs: And this Order of the *Golden Fleece*, as it is one of the higheſt Eſteem, ſo it hath moſt affinity with our Order of *St. George* in point of Regulation, as alſo that ther are ſo few of it. For our Order is accounted far the Nobler, becauſe it hath conſtantly kept it ſelf to the ſame number of Knights, *viz.* 26. ſince the primitive Inſtitution; wheras the *French Orders* have multiplied ſo faſt in number of Knights, that one ſaid the Order of the *French Knighthoods are now become Collers for every Aſs to wear about his neck.*

And as this high Order of *St. George* hath the *precedence* of all other now worn by any King, in point of Antiquity; ſo the ground and deſigne of it was very Noble: For when the firſt *Idea* of erecting a new Order of Knighthood entred into the head of the foreſaid Heroick King *Edward* the third, his thoughts reflected upon King *Arthur*, who indeed was the firſt founder of *Knighthood* not only among *Chriſtians*, but of any other Nation upon

upon earth, As alſo the firſt King who gave Royal Arms, His Coat being *Azure, nine Crowns Or, marſhalld* 3.3.2. and 1. Afterwards the *Saxon* Kings gave Arms; And *Edward* the Confeſſors Coat was *Azure, a Croſs patence between four Martelets Or.* And as King *Arthurs Round Table*, which is yet to be ſeen at *Winchester*, had ſeats for twenty ſix Knights; ſo it ſeems King *Edward* proportiond his number. Now, the occaſion of it was, That he having reſolvd upon a War with *France* for attaining that Crown, which was due unto him by his Mothers ſide, He conceavd it advantageous to invite and engage to his party ſuch as were of a Martial ſpirit, And to that end erected a round Table at *Windſore*, in imitation of King *Arthur*, where they were entertaind with Tilts and Tournements, magnificent Feaſts, and other Princely ways to unite and encourage them. *Philip de Valois*, who was in poſſeſſion of the Crown of *France*, went about to countermine him by erecting alſo the like *Table* in his Court, and ſo drew many gallant and adventurous ſpirits that way, and ſome out of *England*; ſo that King *Edward* not finding this deſigne anſwerable to his mind, he fell on another, ſuch as might prove more adherent and binding unto Him; to which end he eſtabliſhd this high Order of Chivalry conſiſting of *twenty ſix* perſons of eminent note, wherof *He Himſelf* and his Succeſſors Kings of *England* were to be perpetual *Souverains*: All of them were to be men of Heroick parts, and ſuch as ſhold be obligd by Oath and Honour to adhere unto Him upon all occaſions; which might be the probableſt cauſe that he made the *Garter* for a Badg therof to be faſtned about the left leg with a Buckle of Gold to be continually worn; therfore are They ſtild *Equites Per ſcelidis*, (as was touchd before) which hath its Etymologie from the Greek word περισκελὶς, that is, *Crura ambiens*, girding about the knee; which alludes that thoſe Knights ſhold be bound in one League and Confederation of love and affection ſeverally one unto another, and all of them in joynt ſervice to the *Souverain*. Some ther are who are of opinion, that the *Garter* was given becauſe that in a *Battle* where King *Edward* provd Victorious, he had given the word *Garter* for a Signal: Others in a derogatory way wold ground it upon the Counteſs of *Saliſburies* Garter falling off from her in a dance, and ſo taken up by the King: But the Black Book in *Winſore* (which deſerves moſt faith in this point) gives the *firſt* Reaſon for it. Among other Laws that were enacted in the Chapter when this Order was firſt rayſd, one was, That evry Knight by ſolemn Oath upon the Evangeliſts was ſworn *to defend the Honor and Quarrels, the Rights and Lordſhip of the Souvrain*, &c. Such a Sacramental Oath the Knights of the *Bath* alſo take, which is, *To love their Sovrain above all earthly cretures, and*

and for his right and dignity to live and die, &c. Therfore, I have often ſtood aſtoniſhd at the largeneſs of the conſciences of ſome *Knights* of both theſe *Orders*, who beſides other aſtringing Oaths, as thoſe of *Allegeance*, *Supremacy*, &c. could diſpenſe with them All in the late *Rebellion* ſo far, as not only not to adhere to their Sovrain Liege-Lord and King, when his life was ſought for by ſmall and great Shots, with other inſtruments of open hoſtility and ſlaughter, but to appeer for, to ſerve and ſtick unto the *contrary party* all the while: Truly under favor, I wold be loth to exchange ſouls with them. We will put a period to this Diſcours of the ancient Noble Order of *St. George* with a ſignal obſervation of *Bodin's*: *Decretum fuit in Collegio Equitum Periſcelidis in Anglia ponere ſtemmata Regis Francorum ante cætera omnia poſt Principem Ordinis*: It was decreed in the College of the Knights of the Garter in *England*, to put the Stems of the King of the *French* before all other except the *Prince* of the Order. And the reaſon I conceive was, that *Philip* the ſecond whiles King of *England* was formerly put before. But *Bodin* was herin deceavd, for the Emperours Arms (wherof ther have bin eight of the *Order*) go before, and have the precedence.

Out of the premiſes may be deduced this *cleer* Concluſion, as a Meridian Truth; that the Common Law of *England* in all things ayms at the Honour and glory, the power and authority, the Saſeneſs and incolumity of the *Sovrain* Prince, more then the Laws of any Country: And wheras we had ſome touches before, how the *Common Law*, which is peculiar only to *England*, hath the *rationability* of the *Civil* Law, though not ſo digeſted to *Method*, in regard it conſiſts moſt of *Cuſtom*, *Caſes* and *preſidents*; we will conclude this Paragraph with ſome principles wherin they both agree; As, *Actori incumbit onus probandi*, The proof lies on the Accuſer: *Nemo oportet eſſe ſapientior legibus*, No man ought to think himſelf wiſer then the Laws: *Ubi lex non diſtinguit, ibi non eſt diſtinguendum*; We muſt not diſtinguiſh where the Law doth not: *Acceſſorium non ducit, ſed ſequitur ſuum principale*, The Acceſſory doth not lead but follow the principal: *Volenti non fit injuria*, No wrong can be done to him who is willing: *Agentes & Conſentientes pari pœna pleſtuntur*, Actor and conſenter are to be puniſhed alike: *Apices Juris non ſunt Jura*, The punctilios of the Law is no Law: *Nemo poteſt eſſe Judex in propria cauſa*, No man can be Judge in his own cauſe: *Caveat Emptor*, Let the Buyer beware: *Contraria allegans non eſt audiendus*, Who alledgeth contraries is not to be heard: *Cujus eſt dare ejus eſt diſponere*, The Giver may diſpoſe of his gift as he pleaſeth: *Quilibet in Arte ſua eſt credendus*, Evry one is to be believed in his own Art: *Poteſtas derivativa non poteſt eſſe major primitiva*, A Commiſſioner cannot have greater

greater power then He who gave him the Commiſſion : *Dies Dominicus non eſt Juridicus*, The Lords day is no day of Law : *Dormit aliquando Lex, moritur nunquam*, The Law may ſleep a while, but never die : *Dilationes in Lege ſunt odioſæ*, Delays in Law are odious : *Facinus quos inquinat æquat*, All are principals in a crime : *Generale nihil certi implicat*, No certitude can be had out of generals : *Ignorantia non excuſat Legem*, Ignorance of the Law doth not excuſe the breach of it : *Lex non cogit ad impoſſibilia*, The Law doth not tie us to impoſſibilities : *Lex eſt ſumma Ratio*, The Law is the higheſt Reaſon : *Lex citius tolerat privatum damnum quàm publicum malum*, The Law tolerats a privat damage rather then a publick : *Mala Grammatica non vitiat Chartam*, Falſe Latin doth not deſtroy a Deed : *Linea Recta ſemper præfertur tranſverſali*, A right Deſcent is always preferrd before a Collateral in kinred : *Nemo debet bis puniri pro uno delicto*, No man is to be puniſhd twice for one offence : *Nemo poteſt plus juris in alium conferre quàm Ipſe habet*, No man can transfer a greater power to any other, then he hath himſelf : *Nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum*, No man is bound to betray himſelf : *Omnia quæ movent ad mortem ſunt Deo danda*, All things which cauſe death are forfeit to God : *Qui non habet in ære, luat in corpore*, Where the purſe cannot, let the body ſuffer : *Qui peccat ebrius, luat ſobrius*, Who offends when he is drunk, let him be puniſhd when he is ſober : *Qui ſentit commodum, ſentire debet & onus*, Who receive the benefit, ought to feel the burden : *Quod ſemel meum eſt, amplius meum non eſt*, That which *was* mine, is none of mine : *Stat præſumptio donec probetur in contrarium*, A preſumption ſtands till the contrary be provd : *Ubi non eſt principalis ibi non poteſt eſſe acceſſarius*, Where ther's no principal ther can be no Acceſſary : *Unumquodque diſſolvitur eo ligamine quo ligatur*, Evry thing is untyed as it is bound : *Par in parem non habet Imperium*, Equals cannot command one another : *Nemo dat quod non habet* : No man can give that which he hath not : And this doth hold alſo in *Heraldry* ; therfore the *Knighthoods* (with other Honors) that *Cromwel* was ſo free to confer, are void in Law, becauſe he was never *Knight* himſelf.

By theſe few Principles, with multitudes more, it appeers that the *Common Law* hath much affinity with the *Civil* ; wherof ther are as learned *Profeſſors* in *England* as any where els.

Whence it may be inferrd, that the King of *Great Britain* is ſupplied with more helps for the adminiſtrationof Juſtice then any Nation in the world beſides. For in regard that *England* is an Iland having ſuch a great Trade at Sea, and ſo great dealing with divers other Nations ; Having alſo beſides Land-matters both *Temporal*, *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Maritime*, which are not ſo proper for the *Common Law*, He allows of the *Civil Law* anſwerable

to the quality of the Caſe, which hath bin practiſed in *England* beyond the memory of man, or the reach of any Record. And though ther happen oft ſome Emulations and high Conteſts betwixt theſe two Profeſſions, yet ſuch hath bin the prudence of the *Souvrain Prince* to keep them both in as equal a Balance as could be, and not to ſuffer the one to inſult or encroach upon the other, but to have the ſame freedom of ſtudy and practice to the univerſal good of Forreners, as well as of his own Subjects.

And ſo much concerning the National Law, and Prudential Conſtitutions of *England*.

The Tenth and laſt Paragraph.

Touching the greatneſs of Power, of Military Might and Puiſſance by Land and Sea, as well Defenſive as Offenſive, &c. of the King of Great Britain.

THe Duke of *Rohan* in his Book calld *Les Intereſts des Princes*, The Intereſts of Princes, ſaith, that *England is like a great Animal that cannot die unleſs he kill himſelf*. He acknowledgeth Her alſo to be *La troiſeme Puiſſance*, the third Power of Chriſtendom: But by the Arguments that ſhall be produced in this Paragraph, I believe it will appeer to any diſcerning and unbiaſsd Reader that *England*, taking her Kingdoms annexd along, with her ſtrength at *Sea* as well as *ſhore*, will be inferior to none.

Ther was a Compariſon made long ſince, That *Gallia & Hiſpania ſunt quaſi lances in Europæ libra, & Anglia eſt lingula ſive libripendens*; That *France* and *Spain* were as the Scales of the great Balance of *Europe*, and that *England* was the *Toung* or Beam of the Balance, which keeps it in *æquilibrio*, in an even counterpoiſe, that neither ſide ſhold be *traboccant*. This hath bin often verified, ſpecially in the Raign of *Henry* the eighth, whoſe Motto was, *Cui adhæreo præeſt*, He to whom I adhere prevails. He wold ſomtimes make *Francis* the firſt to weigh down, ſomtimes *Charles* the fifth: And touching the *former*, He acknowledgd King *Henry* under God to be the chiefeſt Deliverer of Him and his Children from his captivity in *Spain*; And ſo likewiſe did Pope *Clement*, when he was freed from the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where *Charles* the Emperour had coopd him up, Therfore was *Henry* of *England* calld *Liberator Orbis* by the whole Conſiſtory at *Rome*, as he was before *Protector* of the great *Clementine* League, And indeed the *Arbiter* of all Chriſtendom in his time.

Touching the *Martial* Might of the King of *Great Britain*, we will firſt examine that of *England*, which we muſt diſtinguiſh into Intrinſecal or *Terrene*, And into Extrinſecal or *Maritime*. Concerning the firſt, ther are five Counties alone can put into the

the Field fourty thouſand men, all armd; for ſo many are liſted in the Muſter-makers Book as Traind-Band-men, *viz.* the County of *York* 12000; *Kent* 8000; *Norfolk*, *Lincolnſhire* and *Devonſhire* above 6000 apiece; And the reſt of the Counties, whereof ther are fourty ſeven, may have twice as many at leaſt; which come to a hundred and twenty thouſand Soldiers enrolld, and ready upon all occaſions either for general ſervice, or privat in the Counties where they are, for aſſiſting the Sheriff and other Officers in the execution of the Law, in caſe of any reſiſtance; therfore are they calld *Poſſe Comitatus*, The power of the County. So that in time of peace *England* alone hath an hundred and twenty thouſand Soldiers enrolld, beſides thoſe in *Ireland* and *Scotland*: And in time of War, the late bloudy Rebellion (bleeding yet in the purſes and eſtates of many thouſand poor Cavaliers) hath ſufficiently tryed the ſtrength (and wealth) of *England*: For ther was a computation made at one time of thoſe that were in actual Arms for *King* and *Parlement*, and they came to neer upon two hundred thouſand fighting men under Commiſſion, wherof ther were about fifty thouſand *Horſe* and *Dragoons*: And I do not remember to have read that in the time of the famous *Ligue* in *France* ther were ſo many, take in *ſtrangers* and all.

Hence we ſee that the King of *Great Britain* may be ſaid to have a conſtant ſtanding Army in time of peace, of which he hath the ſole diſpoſing: For the *Sword* is his as much as the *Scepter* and the *Crown*, which are inalienable from his power, and incommunicable to any other but by his Royal Commiſſions: And indeed tis the *Sword* that makes all Kings powerful; The *Crown* and the *Scepter* are but impotent, and poor unweildy things; they are but naked Indefenſible badges without it. Ther's none ſo ſilly as to think ther's meant hereby an ordinary ſingle ſword, ſuch as evry one carrieth by his ſide; Or ſome Imaginary thing, or *Chymera* of a ſword: No, tis the publik *Polemical Sword* of the whole Nation; It may be calld an Aggregative or compound Sword, made up of all the Ammunition, the Artillery, Pikes, Muskets, Helmets, Headpeeces, with all kind of armes ſmall and great; It reacheth to all the Military ſtrengths both by Land and Sea, to all tenable places, as Caſtles, Forts, Bulwarks, within and about the whole Iland: The Kings of *England* have had the ſole power of this *Sword*, and the *Law* gives it them by vertue of their Royal Signory from all times: The very Law doth gird it to their ſides; They employ it for repelling all Forren force, For vindicating all Forren wrongs and affronts, For ſuppreſſing all inteſtine Tumults and Rebellions, And to protect and ſecure the weal of the whole Body politick. The peeple of *England* (repreſented in Parlement) were

were never capable to manage this Sword, the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Country flatly denieth it them; This Sword is fit only to hang at the Kings ſide, as the Great Seal hangs at his girdle, being as it were the key of the whole Kingdom: and it is recorded of the Emperour *Charlemain*, that he carried his *Great Seal* always emboſſd upon the pommel of his *Sword*; which ſignified that he was ready to make good and maintain what he had *Seald*.

Now, to let the *Peeple* have the *Sword*, is to put it into a Madmans hand: And one of the pregnantſt Forren examples to prove this, is that notorious Popular inſurrection in *France* calld *La Jaquerie de Beauvoiſin*, when the Peaſans and Mechanicks had a deſigne to wreſt it out of the Kings hand, for to depreſs all the Peers and *Nobleſſe* of the Kingdom: and the Rebellion had grown to ſuch a ſtrength, that it was like to take effect, had not the Prelats and Churchmen ſtuck cloſe to the King and the Nobility: but afterwards, poor hare-braind things, they deſired the King upon bended knee to take the *Sword* again.

The Civilians, (who in all points are not ſo great frends to Royalty as the *Common Law* is) aſſert, That ther are ſix *Prærogatives* which belong to a *Souvrain Prince*: 1. *Armamenta Army*: 2. *Poteſtas Judicatoria*, power of Judicature: 3. *Poteſtas vitæ & necis*, power of life and death: 4. *Bona adeſpota*, maſterleſs goods: 5. *Cenſus*, the numbring of the people: 6. *Monetarum valor*, the raiſing or abating the value of the publick Coyn. Among theſe *Regalias* we finde that *Arming*, which in effect is nothing els but the Kings *Sword*, is one, and as I ſaid before, tis as proper and peculiar to his Perſon, and to be ſoly on his *ſide*, as the Crown on his *Head*, or the Scepter in his hand, and of greater importance then either: For by thoſe *two* he draws only a voluntary love, and an opinion from his Subjects; but by the *Sword* (as threed thorow a Needles eye) he draws a Reverential Fear and aw. Now, theſe two mixd with the other, are the beſt Ingredients of Government. With the *Sword* he confers Honors, as dubbing of Knights, *&c.* From this Sword all the chiefeſt Magiſtrates have their authority; The Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the Lords Mayors of *London* and *York* have their Swords by deputation from Him; and when he entreth any place Corporat, the firſt thing which is preſented unto him is the *Sword*.

Nor doth the point of this *Sword* paſs thorow the diameter, and reach only to evry corner of his own Dominions, but it extends beyond the Seas, as well to preſerve his Subjects from oppreſſion, and denial of Juſtice, as to vindicat publike wrongs and affronts, to make good the Intereſts of his Crown, as alſo to aſſiſt his Confederats and friends. And this publick *Sword* is ſo inſeparable from him, that by the Law of the Land he cannot ungird him-

himself of it, or transfer it to any other; for that were to desert the *protection* of his people, which is point blank against his Coronation-Oath, and Office. Therfore the very *Proposition* it self, that the Long Parlement made to his late Majesty to have the *Militia* passd over unto them, was no less then *High Treason*: for nothing could be more derogatory to his Kingly Honor, which they had protested so solemnly to maintain by their so many publick Instruments and Oaths.

We proceed now from the *Rural* Power, or Country-campane of the King of *Great Britain*, to his *Oppidan* Strength; And first of his Court at *Westminster*, where ther are 200 goodly tall men of his Gard; Then he hath a *Band* of Pensioners, who are Gentlemen of quality and wealth. Moreover, he hath 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, for his Life-Gard, besides divers Garisons in sundry Towns.

And now we make our entrance into the City of *London*, that huge Magazin of Men and Might; A City that may well compare with any in *France* or *Spain* not only for *Power*, but for any thing els, and in some particulars may haply go beyond them, and deserve a *Precedence*, as shall be shewd. Nor doth this *Power* extend only to her own Self-protection, but it may be made use of for any part of the Kingdome upon any Civil Insurrection, or otherwise, as it shall please the *Sovrain Prince* (and no other whatsoever) to employ it.

The City of *London* is like a fair Quiver of keen strong Arrows for the King to draw forth upon all occasions, for his own and his peeples preservation: For besides twelve thousand choice gallant Citizens in *London* and *Westminster*, with the Hamlets of the Tower, who are enrolld, and always ready, and have their Arms fixd for Honor and Defence, ther may be, as appears by divers Censes and Computations which have bin made, about two hundred thousand choice able men raisd for service if necessity requires, and the City will scarce sensibly miss them; nor are Seamen, Mariners and Water-men meant to be of this number.

The Kings of *France* and *Spain*, I may well avouch, have not any such Town or City: That which is most capable of comparison with *London* is *Paris*, for which she hath many advantages, for she is a *Cité*, *Ville* and *Université*, she is a City, a Town and an *University*, as also the chiefest Residence of the *French* King.

But lets go a little to particulars, and first to the *Populousness* of both Cities. They say that the Parishes of St. *Eustace* and St. *Innocent* which lie about the centre of *Paris*, have above one hundred thousand Communicants in them alone; and that by the last Cense which was made, ther were neer upon a million of

humane Souls in City and Suburbs, wherof the ſixth part are made up of *Strangers* and *Church-men*, which the King cannot make uſe of upon Military occaſions: But look a little forward it will appeer that *London* hath above a Million of ſouls.

For largeneſs and magnitude tis tru, that *Paris* hath the advantage of an Orbicular Figure, which is moſt capacious of any: But by the judgment of thoſe Mathematicians who have taken a ſurvay of both Cities, if *London* were caſt into a *Circle* ſhe wold be altogether as big as *Paris*. Touching publick Buildings, tis tru, that the *Louvre* is a vaſt Fabrick, and the like is not found in *London*; but tis the only Court the *French* King hath in the City, wheras in *London* ther are four Royal Seats, with two Parks annex'd to them. I hope the *Baſtille* will not offer to compare with the *Tower* of *London*, nor the River of *Seine* with the *Thames*; much leſs I believe will *Paris* offer to make any compariſon with *London* in point of Traffick, and Societies of Noble adventuring Merchants, who trade on both ſides of the earth as far as the *Antipodes*; And divers *Kings* have been of their *Corporations*. Nor will the *Provoſt* of *Paris* I think offer to compare with the Lord *Mayor* of *London*, being the prime Man in *England* upon the deceaſe of the King until another be proclaimed. The City of *London* hath divers other advantages not only of *Paris*, but of any other City of *Europe* take them all together; which for a more methodical proceeding we will particularize as they are found in my *Londinopolis*; which being ſo proper to this Paragraph, I thought fit to inſert here, and being well conſidered, it will be found that *London* need not vail to any City under the Sun.

1. For conveniency of Situation, and ſalubrity of Air.
2. For ſtrictneſs of Government both Nocturnal and Diurnal.
3. For the Magnificence of the Chief Magiſtrates.
4. For Regulation of all Trades Domeſtik and Forren.
5. For variety of Profeſſions and Artiſans.
6. For a greater number of Corporations and Halls.
7. For plenty of all proviſions that Air, Earth or Water can afford.
8. For Springs, Aqueducts, and other conveyances of freſh wholſome Waters.
9. For Univerſality of Trade, and Bravery of the Adventurers.
10. For ſolidity and richneſs of Native Commodities.
11. For Artillery, Ammunition, Docks, and a number of Military and ſtout well-arm'd Citizens.
12. For an ancient and glorious large Temple.
13. For an admirable mighty great Bridge.

14. For

14. For a noble and ſtraight Navigable River.
15. For a cheerful and wholeſome green circumjacent Soyle.
16. For Hoſpitality and Feſtival publik Meetings of Corporations, and other Societies to increaſe love, and good intelligence between Neighbours.
17. For all ſorts of Boats by Water, and number of Coaches by Land for the accommodation of Paſſengers.
18. For ſundry kinds of Reliefs for the Poor and Lame.
19. For various kinds of honeſt corporal Recreations and Paſtimes.
20. For the number of Humane Souls.

Tis confeſſd that many of theſe conveniences may be found in other Cities, which taken ſingly may exceed *London* in *ſome*; but take them all together ſhe may vie with the beſt of them, and run no great hazard.

Concerning the firſt advantage, which is convenience of ſituation, and ſalubrity of Air, the wiſdome of the old *Britains* our Anceſtors is to be much commended for the election of the place in point of the benignity of the Hevens, with the temperature and influences therof, wherin *London* is as happy as any other City under the Skies. Some hold that that City is beſt ſituated which reſembleth a Camels back, who hath by nature protuberancies and bunches; ſo a City ſhold be ſeated upon ſmall Hillocks or riſing Grounds: It is juſt the poſture of *London*, for ſhe is built upon the ſides, flanks, and tops of divers ſmall Hillocks lying neer the banks of a great Navigable River, being incompaſſd about with delightful green Medows and Fields on all ſides: She is at ſo fitting a diſtance from the Sea, that no Forren Invaſion can ſurprize her but ſhe muſt have notice therof. The quality of her ſoyle is Gravel and Sand, which is held to be the wholſomſt for habitation, and conduceth much to the goodneſs of the Air, though it uſeth to be barren: but that barrenneſs is remedied by Art and Compoſts, inſomuch that round about the City, within the diſtance of a mile or two, one may behold two or three thouſand milchd Cows a grazing evry day of the week, beſides number of other Beaſts.

Touching the ſecond advantage, which is a ſtrict and conſtant cours of Goverment, ther's no place goes beyond Her, or indeed can equal Her, take night and day together. And wheras in *Paris* one dare not paſs the *Pont-Neuf*, with any place els, after Ten a clock at night without danger, one may paſs through *London*-ſtreets as ſafely as in the day time; ther being Conſtables and their Watch up and down to ſecure Paſſengers: yet they muſt give good account of their being abroad ſo late, ther being ſtrict Laws againſt *Noctivagation*.

Touching

Touching the Magnificence, Gravity, and State of the chief Magiſtrate, neither the *Pretor* of *Rome*, nor *Prefect* of *Milan*; neither the *Procurators* of *St. Mark* in *Venice*, or their Podeſta's in other Cities; neither the Provoſt of *Paris*, or the *Mark*-grave of *Antwerp*, or any other Oppidan Magiſtrate goes beyond the Lord-Mayor and Sheriffs of *London*, if one go to the variety of their Robes, ſomtimes Scarlet richly furrd, ſomtimes Purple, ſomtimes Violet and Puke. What gallant Shows are ther by Water and Land the day that the new Lord-Mayor is ſworn! What a huge Feaſt and Banquet is provided for him!

Touching the Regulation of all ſorts of Trade, and Laws for the improvement therof, the City of *London* hath not her fellow.

Touching variety of Artiſans, *London* abounds with all ſorts. Tis tru, that mingling with Forreners hath much advantagd her herin: But thoſe ſtrangers themſelfs confeſs that the *Engliſh* having got an Invention, uſe to *improve* it and bring it to a greater perfection.

Touching Corporations, Halls, Fraternities, Guilds, and Societies, *London* hath not any Superiour; witneſs the twelve great Companies, out of which one is elected yeerly to be Lord *Mayor*, with threeſcore ſeveral Companies of Citizens beſides. And touching all ſorts of Opificers, and variety of induſtrious ways to improve all kinde of Manufactures, and therby gain an honeſt livelyhood and proportion of Riches, *London* may be calld (as *Luca* is in *Italy*) a *Hive of Bees*, or a Hill of Ants, which have always been accounted the Emblemes of Induſtry and Providence.

Touching abundance, and plenty of all kind of Proviſions, as Fleſh, Fiſh, Fowl, Fruits, Fuel, variety of Drinks and Wines, with any other Commodity that may conduce to Pleſure and Delight as well as to ſupply Neceſſity, *London* may glory to be as well ſervd as any City under Heven. A knowing *Spaniard* ſaid, that he thought *Eaſtcheap*-ſhambles alone vended more Fleſh then is ſpent one week with another in all the Court of *Spain*. *Gaſcon* Wines drink better in *London* then at *Bourdeaux*: *Canary* Wines better then at *Lancerote*: *Rheniſh* Wines better then at *Backrag*. Nor doth *London* abound with all things for the *Belly* alone, but alſo for the *Back*, either to keep it warm, or make it gay. What varieties of Woollen Stuffs are found in evry Shop! What rich Broad-Clothes! ſome being wrought to that height of perfection, that ſome have been made of Ten pounds a Yard in price. But our unlucky *Engliſh-Schiſmatiques* pretending to flee for perſecution of conſcience, have ſet up their Looms, and ſhewd the *Hollanders* the way, to the great detriment of their own Country.

Concerning

Concerning *wholſome ſweet Springs*, and cleer *Waters*, *London* may be ſaid to have as good Blood running through her Veins as any other, by thoſe Aqueducts, Conduits, and conveyances of freſh Waters round about to ſerve for all Uſes. What an Herculean work was that of Sir *Hugh Middletons* to bring the River of *Ware* threeſcore miles by Compaſſes to run through her ſtreets, and refreſh her houſes, as alſo to preſerve them from firing! for which ther are divers ingenious uſeful Engines beſides.

Concerning *Univerſality of Trade*, ther is no City upon the ſurface of the earth goes beyond Her; For ther are no Seas that any of the two and thirty winds blow upon from the Artik to the Antartik Pole, from the Orient to the ſetting Sun, but *London* by her Navigations findes them out, and makes rich returns by way of Barter or Emption.

Touching *ſolid and uſeful Wares* that ſhe hath of her own, what a ſubſtantial Commodity, and of what high eſteem all the world over is her Cloth, her Kerſies, and divers kinds of Woollen Manufactures? Adde herunto her *Lead* and *Tin*, which ſhe tranſmutes to Forren *Gold* and *Silver*.

For Healthful Corporal Recreations, and harmleſs Paſtimes, *London* may go in the Van to any place that ever I ſaw: Go and walk in her Fields, you ſhall ſee ſome ſhooting at long Marks, ſome at ſhort; ſome bowling upon cheerful pleſant Greens, ſome upon Bares and Alleys; ſome wraſtling, ſome throwing the Bar, ſome the Stone; ſome Jumping, ſome Running; ſome with their Dogs in Duck-ponds, ſome at a Bear-baiting, ſome at the Bull; ſome Riding upon Naggs, ſome in Coaches to take the freſh Air; ſome at Stool-ball, others at Kittle-pins; with variety of other.

For a ſtately Cathedral *Temple*, and general *Dome* of Devotion, the time was, and I hope will be yet within a few years, that *London* did not yeild to any City in this particular; Saint *Pauls* Church being eſteemd by all Nations to be one of the eminentſt & viſibleſt *Temples*, one of the moſt glorious piles of ſtones that ever was reard, taking all the Dimenſions together, with the conſpicuous ſite thereof, being about the centre of the City, and upon a riſing Ground. She hath alſo this ſingular property to be founded upon *Faith*, by having a large Pariſh-Church of that name ſupporting her, and directly under her Chancel.

Touching a rare huge *Bridge*, and Navigable *River*, *London* is not inferiour to any other City whatſoever. Concerning the firſt, what a rich Rent hath it to preſerve it ſelf yearly! what a vaſt Magazin of Corn is ther always in the Bridge-houſe againſt a Dearth! (as well as in many other places.) What a number of Officers look to the reparations therof, and are hanſomly

maintaind therby! Touching the ſecond, *viz.* The River of *Thames*, ſhe hath not her *peer*, if regard be had to the length and ſtraightneſs of her cours running from Weſt to Eaſt, without ſo many Meanders as other Rivers have; Her convenient diſtance from the Sea to prevent all Surpriſals; The Amœnity of the Soyle on both Banks; The wholſomneſs of her water, which makes the beſt Beer in the world, being ſo much tranſported by other Nations, and ſold as dear as Wine; The diverſity of her Fiſh, the fatneſs of her Mudd, *&c.*

For number of Humane Souls in City and Suburbs, *London* is nothing inferior to *Paris*, whoſe laſt Cenſe, as is ſaid before, came to about a Million: But in the year 1636. command being ſent to the Lord Mayor to make a ſcrutiny what number of ſtrangers were in the City, he took occaſion therby to make a general Cenſe; And ther were of Men, Women and Children neer upon ſeven hundred thouſand that livd within the Bars of his Juriſdiction. And this being 27 years ago, tis thought that *London* hath ſince more by the third part in all probable conjecture. Now for *Weſtminſter*, the *Strand*, *Bedford Berry*, St. *Martins-lane*, *Long-acre*, *Drury-lane*, St. *Giles* of the Field, *High Holborn*, with divers other thick-peepled places which are ſo contiguous, and make one entire peece with *London* it ſelf, I ſay take all theſe Buildings together, the forenamed number of Seven hundred thouſand may well be thought to be double ſo many. Touching the ſhape of *London*, I find nothing to aſſimilat it unto more properly then to a *Lawrel Leaf* that is far more *long* then tis *broad*, which may be a cauſe ſhe doth not appeer ſo populous as *Paris*, her paſſengers not encountring ſo often as they wold if ſhe were of a round Figure. Touching her *length*, take all Buildings that are adjoyning one to another from the utmoſt point of *Weſtminſter* to the utmoſt point beyond the *Tower*, ſhe may be well thought to be five Miles *long*, about half ſo much in *latitude*, and in *Circuit* about twelve Italian miles.

To conclude, touching the Defenſive and Offenſive *Power* of the City of *London* in point of Arms of all ſorts, of Artillery, Ammunition, Arſenals, and Docks on both ſides the River, Her Traind Citizens and expert Firelocks, neither *France* or *Spain* hath her equal.

It is recorded that in King *Stephens* Raign the City of *London* raiſd 60000 Foot, and 20000 Horſe: how many more were ſhe able to do *now* in caſe of neceſſity? For to compare her *in ſtatu quo nunc* to what ſhe was *then*, were to compare a Giant to a Dwarf in point of proportion and ſtrength. The *Record* hath it alſo that *Anno* 1293. *London* was able to put out a Fleet of 95 Ships to ſcowre and ſecure the Seas from Depredations and Pyrates, *&c.* which ſhe was often uſd to do.

Such

Such an *Imperial Chamber*, ſuch, ſuch a potent and well-appointed City hath the King of *Great Britain* always at his command: And if ſome of the Roman Emperours about Fifteen hundred years ago in their Diplomata's or Edicts ſtild her *Auguſta*, (which was always a name of Magnificence and State) how much more may ſhe deſerve that name in the condition ſhe now is arrivd unto!

Thus have we diſcourſd, though in weak imperfect Expreſſions, of the Power and Military Might of the King of *Great Britain*, not including all this while his two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, which being caſt into the Balance may make his Power ſo much more.

Touching his *Maritime* Power, tis ſpoken of in another Paragraph going before; wherunto we will add, that the King of *Great Britain* hath ſuch a *Haven* that neither *France* or *Spain*, or indeed any part of the world can parallel, which is *Milford Haven*, wherof the moſt famous ancient Authors, not only *Latin* but *Greek*, make moſt honourable mention, calling it χιλιόπορε, the thouſand foorded Haven. One other paſſage we will adde, which is but freſh, that beſides the reducing of the *Hollander*, the very laſt year a few of the King of *Great Britains* Frigats did beat thoſe deſperat Pyrats of *Barbary* into a Peace, wheras neither *France* or the *Dutch* could do it: And this year thoſe few *Engliſh* that are in *Tanger* did alſo force *Guyland* the great *Morocco* Rebel to Articles of Peace.

As I was writing this, me thought I had whiſperd in my ear, that the *French King* hath one kind of *Power* that tranſcends any of the King of *Great Britains*, which is, that he may impoſe what *Taxes* he pleaſe upon the people by his *Edicts* alone. Tis tru he can, and he may thank the *Engliſh* for that power; for when they had coopd him up in a corner of *France*, (in *Berry*) the *Victorious Engliſh* being Maſters of the reſt, That *Power* which before was in the Aſſembly of the *three Eſtates* of laying *Impoſitions*, was inveſted in the *King* himſelf *pro tempore* during the Wars becauſe the three Eſtates could not aſſemble: But this Power makes him a King of *Slaves* rather then of *Free Subjects*; and if they may be calld Subjects, they are Subjects of an *Aſinin* condition which cannot have any tru manly courage in them, or a competency of wealth to bear it up; which is the cauſe that though *France* be a rich and ſelf-ſufficient Country, yet ſome think ther are more *Beggers* in Her then in all *Chriſtendome* beſides. Now, it is a Principle in the Civil Law, That *Dominum habere nobiliorem confert ad dignitatem Vaſſalorum, & nobiliorum habere populum confert ad nobilitatem Principis*; To have the nobler Lord conduceth to the dignity of the Vaſſal, and to have the

the nobler Peeple conduceth to the dignity of the Prince. By this Axiome the King of *Great Britain* is the more Noble, becauſe he is Lord of a free-born wealthy peeple, and not of *Slaves* and Beggers. Yet it cannot be denied but that it is one of the greateſt advantages of power and repute for a King to be *Rich*, (provided he come not to be ſo by grinding the faces of his Subjects.) The Republik of *Venice* and the Seat of *Genoa* carry that high eſteem in the world, becauſe the one hath the Treſury of Saint *Mark*, and the other the Bank of St. *George*. The Duke of *Florence* is ſtild the *Grand Duke* more then other Dukes who have larger *Territories*, becauſe he hath always a rich Treſury.

Therfore I will draw towards a concluſion of this Paragraph with this moſt humble *Intimation* to the great Council of *England* now *Prorogued*, that at their *Re-acceſs* they wold pleaſe to conſider, that wheras the fame of being *Rich*, and to have the Coffers of his Crown well ballaſted, conduceth ſo much to the *Repute* of a King, and ſo by Reflexions upon the whole Nation, As alſo to make Him *redoubtable* both abroad and at home; And wheras the contrary *fame* expoſeth him to contempt, Inſultings and Paſquils, (as ſome friſking *French* Wits have bin lately too buſie and bold that way) and likewiſe our Neighbour *Hans* who daily offers us ſuch inſolencies: which makes me think of an *Italian* Proverb, which though *homely*, yet it comes *home* to this purpoſe, *Cavagliero* (ò *Principe*) *ſenza quatrini, è come un muro ſenza croce da tutti ſcompiſciato*; A Cavalier (or Prince) without money, is like a Wall without a *Croſs* for evry one to draw upon: Therfore I am bold to reiterat the foreſaid humble *Intimation* (I will not preſume to ſay *Advice*, though it may be well calld ſo) to the Honorable Houſe of Commons when They reaſſemble, That in their great Wiſedoms they wold have a ſenſe of the preſent condition in this particular of *their King* ſo miraculouſly reſtord unto Us by a pure Act of the *Omnipotent*: And that wheras the Two Neighbouring *Kings* have of late yeers enhancd their Revenues and Incomes far higher then they were formerly, They wold be pleaſd to think it not only agreeable to the Rules of tru *Policie*, but moſt neceſſary for the *Honor* and ſafety of the whole Nation, to make the Monarck of *Great Britain* to correſpond and bear up in a hanſome proportion this way with either of Them, as He doth in all other things beſides.

A Corollary to what hath bin said in this first Section.

IN the preceding Paragraphs it appeers by luculent and cleer proofs, how the King of *Great Britain*

Had to his Predecessor the first *Christian King* that ever was upon earth.

He had to his Predecessor the first *Christian Emperour* (and Empress.)

He had to his Predecessor the first *Christian Worthy*, and the first Erector of Military Knighthood.

He had to his Predecessors some of the most victorious Kings that ever were.

His Predecessors were the first who freed themselfs from the *Roman* Yoke both in *Temporals* at first, and in *Spirituals* afterwards.

It hath appeerd how He is Sovrain of the Noblest Order of *Knighthood* that any King hath.

It hath appeerd that his Ambassadors had the Precedence given Them in divers General Councils.

It hath appeerd how the *King of Great Britain* hath as Free-born and valiant Subjects as any other.

It hath appeerd that He hath the most plentiful and hospitable Court of any other King.

That He hath as independent Authority as any other King.

It hath appeerd that He hath the stoutest Men of War, The Noblest *Haven*, The *Inaccessiblest* Coasts, with the greatest Command and Power at *Sea* of any other.

Which makes the English Merchants to be so highly respected abroad above other Nations, having more Privileges at the entrance of the *Baltik* in the *Sound*, as also in *Hamborough* and *Holland*, where they have Houses like Palaces provided for them *gratis*, and free from Excise. In *Ligorne*, in *Constantinople*, and the gran *Mosco*, they are more esteemd then any other Merchants: And tis well known how his Subjects the *Scots* have the privilege of *Preemption* in the Vintage at *Bourdeaux*, with divers other Immunities in *France* above other Nations:

Wherfore if any King may be calld Πολυκρέρτατος, tis the King of *Great Britain*, to whom that famous Verse of the *Father* of Poets may be applyed;

Σκήπτρῳ μέν τοι δῶκε τετιμῆσθαι περὶ πάντων.
A Scepter is given Thee to be Honord by all.

To theſe particulars we will ſubjoyn the Reaſons that Sir *Henry Nevill* with the reſt of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors ſent by Queen *Elizabeth* in a joynt *Legantine* Commiſſion to *Bullen* in *France* to negotiat with Don *Balthaſar de Zuniga*, and others ſent Ambaſſadors from *Philip* the ſecond of *Spain* and the Archduke *Albertus*; I ſay, we will inſert here the Reaſons which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors gave *then* for prerogative and right of *Antecedence*, in the conteſt that happend then with thoſe of *Spain*, by a Remonſtrance which they ſent the ſaid Ambaſſadors in theſe words, as tis extracted out of the *Record* it ſelf.

Illuſtres & Magnifici Domini,

Perlegimus ſcriptum quod Illuſtres & Magnificæ perſonæ veſtræ ad nos heri miſerunt, & Illa capita quæ ſubſtitutionis poteſtatem, & ſigilli vigorem attingunt ſtatuimus non ulteriùs proſequi, confidentes de ſinceritate ſereniſſimi Domini Archiducis, & acquieſcentes integritate Illuſtrium & Magnificarum veſtrarum perſonarum quæ nobis pollicentur bonam fidem in hoc quod agitur negotio ſummo cum candore & humanitate conjunctum. Clauſulam vero quam in ſereniſſimi Archiducis Commiſſione omiſſam eſſe ſuperiùs demonſtravimus, quàm primùm commodumq; videbitur quod pollicitæ ſunt veſtræ illuſtres & magnificæ perſonæ petimus inſerendum.

Quod verò illuſtres & magnificæ veſtræ perſonæ aſſerunt inſolitum & novum videri quod propoſuimus de Prærogativa & Præcedentiæ dignitate ſereniſſimæ Reginæ Dominæ noſtræ ſemper debita, non poſſumus diſſimulare, nos valde mirari illud viris veſtræ conditionis, eruditionis & judicii novum eſſe & inſolitum, quod univerſo orbi terrarum notum eſt, & celebratiſſimum. Res enim eſt exploratiſſima quod Regio Hiſpanica cum diſtributa fuerit in diverſa Regna, & devoluta in manus Regis Ferdinandi & Reginæ Iſabellæ, Regumq; Granatæ inſuper ei adjunctum, unà cum cæteris partibus Indiarum Occidentalium orta eſt contentio ſpecioſè magis quàm ſolidè rectèq; fundata de Præcedendi dignitate cum Regno Anglorum tempore quo Papatum occupavit Alexander ejus nomini ſextus natione Hiſpanus, *quæ perducta ad tempora Julii ſecundi.* Volaterranus *Author imprimis bonus, Hiſtoriographus Italus nullo privato beneficio Angliæ obſtrictus, quiq; eodem tempore Romæ vixit, ea de cauſa quemadmodum Res actæ, geſtæq; ſuerunt probè potuit intelligere, de hac Re ita refert. Inter Oratores Henrici ſeptimi Regis Angliæ & Hiſpaniæ Regis inter ſacra ſedendo orta eſt contentio quæ etiam ſub Alexandrio cæperat. Julius Locum honoratiſſimum Anglis pro tempore adjudicavit, quod quidem Jus, & prærogativam Regis Angliæ poſſidentes tenuerunt uſq; ad tempora Caroli quinti Imperatoris qui licet ratione Cæſareæ Majeſtatis ſupremam ſedem dignitatis inter Principes occupavit, Illud tamen privilegium ad poſteros ſuos in præjudicium aliorum Principum tranſmittere non potuit. Ideóq; poſt obitum ejus quæſtio illa Præcedentiæ ad eoſdem terminos*

minos unde ante digreſſerat reverſa eſt. Cum igitur Reges Angliæ ſemper tenuerunt priorem, & auguſtiorem ſedem præ ſingulis illis Regibus priuſquàm Regna eorum in unum reducta fuerint, reductiſq; in unum indeq; ea de re quæſtione motâ jus ſuum ex ſententia Papæ retinuerint de quo nullo unquam tempore aut occaſione ceſſerunt: Extra controverſiam igitur putamus illud de Jure pertinere ad Coronam Angliæ, utcunq; propagata & amplifica ſunt Territoria & Dominia Regni Hiſpaniæ quod recta rerum æſtimatione nihil valet aut valere debet inter Chriſtianos Principes ad hanc Præcedentiæ quæſtionem: Alioqui plurimi Reges & Principes aſſumerent ſibi Præcedentiam in multos alios Principes quibus jam & liberè & libenter concedunt.

Amplius de hæc præſenti controverſia de Præcedentiæ dignitate hoc ipſo tempore aliud eſt quod ſe non indignè offert judiciis veſtris examinandum, nempe quod unus è nobis quem ſereniſſima Regina Domina noſtra ad hunc tractatum pacis concludendum elegit, Legatus ejus eſt qui quotidie reſidet apud Chriſtianiſſimum, quam dignitatem unà cum omnibus Prærogativis quæ eam comitantur retinet quoad in Regno Galliæ commoratur. Primus verò è vobis licet ſit Legatus Catholici Regis apud ſereniſſimum Archiducem cùm jam ſit extra territorium Archiducis, qualitatem eam, dignitatemq; exui: cenſemus quoq; noſtrum in quo multiplicata iſta dignitas elucet, & dominatur Jure præferendum unicuiq; qui ſingulari & nudo titulo deputati ſcilicet ad tractatum pacis inductus prodit. Vobis igitur ſi placeat quæſtio iſta alto ſilentio prætermittatur, hæcq; prærogativa de qua agitur maneat habitetq; in ſereniſſima Regina Domina noſtra ad quam Jure ſpectat, pertinetque. Ita alacrioribus animis ad conventum, colloquiumq; cujus cauſâ huc acceſſimus feremur. Iſta omnia pro prudentia & moderatione veſtrarum illuſtrium & magnificarum dominationum petimus amicè & candide accipi, ut quæ profecta ſunt ab obſervantiis & religione officii noſtri, non à ſtudio tempus conſumendi aut contentionis excitandæ. Datum Boloniæ 26 Maii, ſtylo veteri 1600.

Renderd thus in Engliſh.

Illuſtrious and Magnificent Lords,

"We have read through the Writing which your illuſtrious "and magnificent Perſons ſent us yeſterday; and touching "thoſe heads which appertain to the power of your ſubſtituti- "tion, and the vigor of the Seal, we have reſolvd not to proſe- "cut further, confiding in the ſincerity of the moſt ſerene the "Lord Archduke, and acquieſcing in the integrity of your il- "luſtrious and magnificent Perſons, which doth promiſe us a "good faith in the buſineſs we are to agitat with the greateſt "candor and humanity that may be. And touching the Clauſe "we demonſtrated before, we deſire it may be inſerted as ſoon "and as conveniently it may be, as your illuſtrious and magni- "ficent Perſons have promiſed. "And

"And wheras your illuſtrious and magnificent Perſons aſſert, "that it is unuſuall and new what we propoſd concerning the "Prerogative and dignity of Precedence due always to the moſt "ſerene Queen our Miſtreſs, we cannot diſſemble, but we much "wonder that that ſhold ſeem new and unuſal to men of your "condition, learning and judgment, which is ſo well known, and "moſt celebrous to all the world. For it is a moſt explored truth, "That the Region of *Spain* diſtributed to divers Kingdoms, when "it was devolvd to the hands of King *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, "wherunto the Kingdome of *Granada* was adjoyned, and the "*Weſt-Indies*, a Contention did ariſe more ſpeciouſly then ſolid-"ly and rightly grounded, touching the dignity of Precedence "with the King of *England* at that time, when *Alexander* the "ſixth, who was a Spaniard born, held the Papacy, which con-"tinued to the time of *Julius* the ſecond: and *Volaterranus* a ſpeci-"al good Author, and an *Italian* Hiſtoriographer, being not "engagd to *England* for any privat benefit, and one that was "well capable to know how matters paſſd, and were tranſacted, "doth relate that betwixt the Ambaſſadors of *Henry* the ſeventh "King of *England*, and the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, a contention "did ariſe about Precedence of ſeſſion in the Church, and *Julius* "adjudgd the moſt honourable place to the Engliſh; which "Right and Prerogative the Kings of *England* poſſeſſd until the "time of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who in regard of *Cæſa-*"*rean* Majeſty, had the ſupreme place among all Princes. But "he could not tranſmit that privilege to his poſterity, to the pre-"judice of other Princes: Therfore after his deceaſe, that que-"ſtion of Precedence returnd to thoſe terms whence it had for-"merly digreſſd. Since therfore the Kings of *England* always "held priority of place and ſeſſion of thoſe ſeveral Kings before "their Kingdomes were reducd to one, a queſtion being movd "therabouts, they have retaind their Right by the Popes ſen-"tence, and never yeilded it upon occaſion. Therfore without "controverſie we think that Right to appertain ſtill to the "Crown of *England* notwithſtanding that the Territories and "Dominions of the Kingdome of *Spain* be propagated and am-"plified, which in the right eſtimation of things prevails not, "or ought to prevail twixt Chriſtian Princes touching this que-"ſtion; For then other Kings and Princes would aſſume a right "of Precedence above others, to whom now they grant it, ever "and anon, if their Dominions increaſe.

"Moreover, touching this preſent controverſie about Prece-"dence, ther is another thing which doth not unworthily offer "it ſelf to be examined by your Judgements, which is, That "one of Us which the moſt ſerene Queen our Miſtreſs hath cho-"ſen her Ambaſſador to conclude this Treaty of Peace, is one

"who

"who daily reſides in that quality in the Court of the moſt "Chriſtian King; which Dignity with all Prerogatives he re- "tains as long as he ſojourns in *France*. But the firſt of you, al- "though he be Ambaſſador to the Catholick King with the "moſt ſerene Archduke, and being out of the Dominions ther- "of, he puts off that quality and dignity. We think alſo that "our Ambaſſador in whom this Dignity is multiplyed, and "ſhines more, ought by right to be preferred before any that is "appointed by a ſingle and bare title onely for this great Trea- "ty.

"Therfore if you pleaſe, let this Queſtion be pretermitted "with deep ſilence, and let this Prerogative remain, and dwell "in the moſt ſerene Queen our Miſtreſs, to whom it juſtly be- "longs and appertains; ſo we ſhall more cheerfully apyly our "ſelfs to the buſineſs for which we are come. All this we de- "ſire may be candidly and frendly accepted according to the "prudence and moderation of your illuſtrious and magnificent "Lordſhips, as proceeding from the Obſervances, and Religion "of our Office, not with any deſſein to conſume time, or raiſe "contentions. *Bullen* 26 *Maii*, 1600.

Henry Nevil,
John Harbert, &c.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſadors made an anſwer herunto, which we reſerve for the third *Section*, wherin the Arguments of *Spain* for Precedence are ſet down, wherof one of the ſtrongeſt he urgeth is the Multiplication and encreaſe of Dominions, which according to *Beſoldus* and *Caſſaneus*, with other great Civilian Juriſts, is no Argument at all, in regard it doth not hold among ordinary Nobility. As for example: He of *Arundel* is firſt *Earl* in *England*; He of *Angus* in *Scotland*; And He of *Kildare* in *Ireland*, by the Laws of Heraldry and Hereditary Right: Put caſe that ſome other of their fellow Earls in either Kingdome ſhold grow richer, and have more Mannors, Poſſeſſions and Lordſhips, yet they will not offer to take place or precedence; ſo the Argument may hold *A minori ad majus:* For if it be ſo a- mong Noble-men, much more ſhold this Rule have validity a- mong Souvrain Princes.

I will go on with a paſſage that happend in *Paris* a little above twenty years ſince. *Hugo Grotius* reſiding at *Paris* in quality of Ambaſſador for the Crown of *Sweden*, attempted to make his Coaches go before thoſe of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, pretending a right of Precedence, becauſe the King of *Sweden* whom he repre- ſented, was King of the ancient *Goths* and *Vandals*, *&c.* which was, under favor, but a feeble Argument, For ther were Kings

of *Great Britain* thousands of years before the *Goths* or *Vandals* were scarce known to the Christian world; nor do any stories make mention of them until a little after the *declinings* of the Roman Empire, about the year 350 from the Incarnation, nor came they to be *Christians* till a long time after; And it is the Position of *Grotius* himself in his Book *de Jure Belli, Inter Reges qui primo Christianismum professi sunt præcedunt*, Who first professd Christianity ought to precede. Moreover, the King of *Denmark* entitles himself *King of the Goths and Vandals* as well. But my Lord of *Leicester* carried himself so like himself, that our *Swedish* Ambassador was put behind with a *Disgrace* somewhat answerable to his *Presumption*, and to the explosion of the Spectators.

Now, Let the prudent and unpassionat Reader weigh with leasure the foregoing Particulars, and reserve his Judgement till he hath run through the Reasons and Arguments of the other *two Kings* in order to a *Precedency*.

Tis time now to cross over to *France*, and produce the Arguments of that *King*, faithfully extracted out of the most receavd and celebrated *Authors* who assert his *Right* to sit next the *Emperour* upon all occasions, As *Cassanæus*, *Ferhaut*, *Besoldus*, *Carolus de Grassellis*, *Hierome Bignon*, *Pierre Matthieu*, &c.

And let this be a close to the First Section.

THE

The ſecond Section,

Conſiſting of the Reaſons wherby the *French* King pretends and claims Priority of Place, and Proximity of Seſſion next the Emperour at all Solemn Meetings, and in all publik Tranſactions of State, *&c.*

Which Reaſons,
In regard they lie confuſd and ſcatterd in other *Authors*, we will reduce to *Ten* Heads or Arguments, wherof the firſt ſhall be drawn

1. *A Nobilitate Regni*, from the Nobleneſs of the Kingdome.

2. The ſecond *A Nobilitate Regionis*, from the Nobleneſs of the Country.

3. The third *A Noblitate Regiminis*, from the Nobleneſs of the Government.

4. The fourth *A Religione, & Nobilitate Eccleſiæ*, from Religion, and the Nobleneſs of the Church.

5. The fifth *A Nobilitate Gentis, & multitudine Subditorum*, from the Nobleneſs of the Nation, and multitude of Subjects.

6. The ſixth *A plenitudine Regiæ Poteſtatis*, from the abſolutneſs of Regal Authority.

7. The ſeventh *A Potentia ipſius Regni*, from the Power of the Kingdome it ſelf.

8. The eighth *Ab opulentia ipſius Regni*, from the Riches thereof.

9. The ninth *A Fortitudine & Rebus in Bello geſtis*, from Valour and Exploits done in the War.

10. The

10. **The tenth and laſt Argument ſhall be drawn *ab Exemplo & Antiquitate*, from Examples and Antiquities.**

Of the firſt Argument,

A Nobilitate Regni, *from the Nobleneſs of the Kingdome.*

THer is a ſpeech drawing neer to the nature of a *Proverb*, *Great Britain* for an *Iland*, *France* for a *Kingdome*, *Milan* for a *Duchy*, and *Flanders* for a *County* or Earldome, are preferrable before all other; They are κατ' ἐξοχὴν in their kind: this ſhews the ſupereminence of the Kingdome of *France*. Ther is alſo a ſignal ſaying of the Emperour *Maximilian* the firſt, who being in ſome *Critical* Diſcourſes with his Lords about the Dominions of *Europe*, broke out into this high Encomium of *France*, *That if it could ſtand with the Order of Nature and the Pleſure of the* Almighty *that any mortal Man were capable to be a* God *of the Elementary world, and that I were He, I would ſo make my laſt Will and Teſtament in the diſpoſing of my Eſtate, That my eldeſt Son ſhold be* God *after me, but my ſecond ſhold be King of* France. This ſaying or exceſs of ſpeech muſt be interpreted with a ſane ſenſe, for the Emperour meant nothing els hereby but to intimate his opinion touching that potent and noble Kingdom: which Kingdom hath continued an Heredetary ſucceſſive *Monarchy* neer upon twelve hundred yeers by *three* Races of Kings, wherof *Lewis* the fourteenth now regnant is the ſixty fifth Monark.

Now, whoſoever will behold that noble Kingdome, will finde that no other ſtands ſo commodious and ſtrong by the poſition of *Nature* her ſelf. It is ſituated in the centre of *Europe*, having *Weſtward* the Iſland of *Great Britain*; *Eaſtward*, *Italy* and *Swiſſerland*, with other Regions; it hath *Southward* the Kingdome of *Spain*; and *Northward* the great Continent of *Germany* high and low: And it is notably fenced againſt all theſe by a ſpecial Providence; Againſt the *Firſt*, it hath a huge Salt Ditch, the *Sea* it ſelf; againſt the *Second* it hath the ſtupendious *Alpian* Hills; againſt the *Third* it hath the *Pyrenean* Mountains caſt up as Trenches by Nature her ſelf for the defence of *France*; againſt the *Fourth* ſhe hath ſtrong fortified Towns, Caſtles and Rivers: The *Ocean* on the one ſide, and the *Mediterranean* on the other do waſh her Skirts, and mightily invite *Trade*. And that which adds alſo much to the advantage of her ſituation, is, that ſhe lieth acceſſible and open to all Mankind for Commerce and Negotiation by Sea and Land. Moreover, being ſeated ſo in

in the midſt, ſhe is fitteſt to be *Arbitratrix*, and to give *Law* to the reſt of *Chriſtendome*, as being properly ſeated to divide or unite, to admit or hinder the Forces of *Europe*. She ſtands alſo in an advantagious poſture to *reach* her hand to her Frends in point of Auxiliary Aſſiſtance, or *heave* her hand againſt the Enemy. She hath divers Provinces, the *Governors* wherof are equal to *Viceroys*: And for her *Nobles*, they are without number; for ſhe can horſe about 50000 Gentlemen for the Wars. Adde herunto that ſhe hath a mighty advantage to be of a *round* Orbicular ſhape, which makes all parts lie neerer for the aſſiſting each other in caſe of neceſſity.

Ther is one other quality that makes for the Nobleneſs of *France*, which is, though he be *Turk* or *Tartar*, *Moore* or *Egyptian*, or of any Nation, if he be in quality of a *Captif* or *Slave*, as ſoon as he treads upon *French* ground he is *eo inſtante* frank and *free*, and as it were manumitted of the tie of ſlavery: for as *Bodin* hath it, it is a Principle in *France*. *Servi peregrini ut primum Galliæ fines penetraverint liberi ſunto*; Let ſtranger-ſlaves as ſoon as they come within the borders of *France* be *free*. Among other, let this example ſerve: A Merchant came to *Tholouſe* and brought with him a *Slave* whom he had bought in *Spain*; The *Slave* being told of the Laws and Privileges of *France*, came and told his Maſter, Sir, I have had relation to you hitherto as a *Slave* and *Bondman*, but now by the Laws of this Noble Country I am a *Freeman*; yet I am contented to ſerve you ſtill, but as a Free Attendant. The like happend at the Siege of *Metz*, where a *Slave* had played the Fugitive, and ran away with his Maſter *Don Luys d' Avila*'s horſe; *Don Luys* ſent a Trumpeter to the Duke of *Guyſe* for his Man and his Horſe; The Duke underſtanding that his Horſe was ſold, cauſd the Money to be ſent the *Spaniard*, but for the *Man* he ſent him word, That he was upon *French* ground, therfore was *Free* by the cuſtome of the Country.

In fine, *France* is ſo Noble a Region, that as the *Sun* ſhines among the Stars in the *Firmament*, ſo *France* ſhines among the reſt of *Kingdomes*.

The ſecond Argument,

A Nobilitate Regionis, *from the Nobleneſs of the Country.*

WE proceed now from the Nobleneſs of the *Kingdome*, to the Fertility and Riches of the *Country* of *France*, as alſo to the temperature and healthfulneſs of the Clime or *Climes* thereof; for *France* participats of the nature of divers Climes: *Normandy*, ſpecially *la Baſſe Normandy*, partakes of the Clime of her next Tranſmarin Neighbour *Great Britain*: *Picardy*

and *Champagne* of that of *Germany*; *Provence* and the Countries towards the *Alps*, partakes of the Climat of *Italy*; *Aquitania* and *Languedoc* being walld Southward by the Pyrenean Hills, have much of the Climat of *Spain*; And the *Ile* of *France* wherin *Paris* is built, and the Country therabouts, hath a particular Clime of its own. Theſe varieties of Climes make the Country the more fruitful for univerſality of Wealth and Plenty. Nor is *France* onely a fat Country and full of marrow, but ſhe hath as much Delightfulneſs as Fecundity, as much real Pleſure as outward Bewty: Ther is no Soyl under the Sun where ther is more *Agriculture* for *Bread*, which is the ſtaff of Mans Life; Inſomuch that ſhe may be calld the *Granary of Ceres*, and ſhe may be calld as well one of *Bacchus* his chief *Cellars*, for a world of *Vineyards* wherwith the Country is coverd, with innumerable ſorts of fruits; inſomuch that the character which *Salvianus* gives of *Aquitania* may extend to the whole Country, when he elegantly ſaith, *Illic omnis admodum Regio aut intertexta eſt Vineis, aut florulenta pratis, aut irrigata fontibus, aut interfuſa fluminibus, aut diſtincta culturis, aut conſita pomis, aut amœnata lucis, aut crinita meſsibus, ut verè poſſeſſores Illius Terræ non tam ſolt iſtius portionem quàm Paradiſi imaginem poſsidere videantur:* There evry place is either interwoven with Vines, or flowrd with Medows, or ſet with Orchards, or meerd by Corn-fields, or peepled with Trees and Woods, or refreſhd with Fountains, or enchanell'd with Rivers, or periwiggd with all ſorts of Grain; Inſomuch that the Inhabitants may be ſaid to poſſeſs a part of Paradiſe rather then a portion of the common earth.

Now, among all theſe, the four Staple Commodities of *France* may be ſaid to be *Corn*, *Wine*, *Hemp* and *Salt*, which *Boterus* calls the four *Loadſtones* of *France*: For as the *Loadſtone* (wherof the *Blew Ethiopian* is the beſt) hath an attractive Virtue to draw unto them Iron and Steel in a myſterious manner, ſo the foreſaid four Commodities have a Magnetical Virtue to draw into *France* the Gold and Silver of all Nations. Concerning the *French Corn*, it is reputed the beſt of all other; *Pliny*, one of Natures principal *Secretaries*, hath left upon record that the Gallic Corn is *nitidiſsimi grani, & plus panis reddere quàm far aliud*, It is of a neat grain, and yeelds more bread then other wheat. The *Spaniard* and others might ſtarve were they not ſuſtaind by French Corn, yet ſhe vents but her ſuperfluities, and tranſmutes them to *Indian Gold*: for ſuch is the ſcarcity of *Spain*, that having not bread enough of her own for the hundredth Child ſhe produceth, whoſoever brings thither a Cargazon of Corn, may make his return for it in Gold or Silver, and carry it openly in the palm of his hand without fear of ſeizure.

Touching

Touching the French Wines, it may be ſaid they need no Buſh: what vaſt proportions are carried away by all the North-weſt Nations? *Bodin* ſpeaks of one Merchant in *Cambray* which bought at one Vintage 33000 Barrels; and tis worth the obſervation what a world of variety of Wines grow up and down, for one can ſcarce go twenty miles but ther is ſtill a differing ſort of Grape: In ſome places in *Burgundy* and *Champagne* ther are Wine-veſſels as big as ſome houſes in height, not inferior to thoſe vaſt Veſſels of *Heidelberg*, *Tubinga*, and *Groninghen*, (as the ingenious *Lanſius* hath it.)

Touching *Hemp* and *Flax*, the third Staple Commodity of *France*, what mighty rich *Procedes* come thereof! For though it be a deſpicable Vegetal in ſight, and unſavory in the handling, yet it is of ſuch virtue that it can remove *Rome* to *Hercules* Pillars, *Egypt* to *Italy*, the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies* into *England*; a Vegetal that can controul *Eolus*, and overmaſter *Neptune* himſelf, I mean the impetuous Whirlwinds of the one, and the tumbling Waves of the other. Now, where doth this moſt uſeful Commodity grow more plentiful then in *France*? Nor doth ſhe hereby furniſh her Neighbors far and neer only with Sayls for their ſhips, but with ſhirts for their backs, ſheets for their beds, and napery for their tables.

Touching the laſt great *Staple Commodity* of *France*, which is *Salt*; tis ſo ſavoury in the Kings Coffers, that he draws twenty Millions of Livres evry year from the *Gabel* of it: beſides that incredible proportion which is ſpent in *France* it ſelf, what Millions of Meſures are laden out for other Countries! *Spain* alſo hath this Commodity to a ſuperfluity, but her *Salt* is more corroding and acrimonious then the *French*; Therfore when the *Emperour Charles* the fifth (as *Lanſius* relates) had put out a Placart prohibiting that no *French Salt* ſhold be brought into the *Netherlands*, the Country was like to mutiny for that *tart* Proclamation, becauſe the *Spaniſh Salt* which was permitted only to be imported, was not ſo ſweet and vigorous as the *French*; ſpecially as that of *Rochel*, wherwith if Fleſh be ſalted, and a Ship victualld with it to the furtheſt part of the *Eaſt-Indies*, it will eat as ſweet at the return of the Ship as it did at firſt, as tis found by the frequent experience of our Navigators.

Concerning the Air and Clime of *France*, it is the moſt cheerful and temperat of any other under the Canopy of Heven, which makes the inhabitants therof ſo ſpritful and debonnaire: Tis rare to find a French-Woman *melancholy*, which was the ground of the Proverb, To make a compleat Wife, let her be *Engliſh* to the Neck; From the Navil to the Knee *Dutch*; From the Knee downward *Spaniſh*; But from the Neck to the Navil *French*, which relates to the *Heart*, and to the *merry* diſpoſition therof.

therof. Nor are the French-women ſpriteful and merry moſt of any, but they are alſo wiſe and judicious: for *Caſſanæus* relates in his *Catalogo Gloriæ Mundi*, that in the famous old League which was ſtruck twixt *Hannibal* and the *Gaules*, it was capitulated that if any *Gaule* was wrongd by a *Carthaginian*, a *Carthaginian* Magiſtrat ſhold be his Judge; but if any *Carthaginian* ſhold be wrong'd by a *Gaule*, *Gallic Women* ſhold be Judges therof.

I will conclude this *Argument* with the quaint Verſes of *Baptiſta Mantuanus* an *Italian*:

Ignea Mens Gallis, *&* Lactea *corpora*, nomen
A candore *datum populis*, *Muliebra tingit*
Ora color Tyrius, Paphium *meditata colorem*
Ex geminis fecit Natura coloribus unum:
Læti, alacres, luſu, choreis, & carmine gaudent;
In Venerem proni, proni in Convivia, proni
Ante Dapes ad ſacra Deum ſervire, jugumq;
Ferre negant, fugiunt figmenta, & hypocriſin, Ore
Liberi, & ingenuus mos eſt, Tetricoſq; peroſi, &c.

The third Argument,

A Nobilitate Regiminis, *from the Nobleneſs of Goverment.*

THe form of Goverment in the Kingdome of *France*, is partly *Civil*, partly *Polemical*; It is a mixt Goverment between Peace and War, compoſd of *Military* Diſcipline as well as of *Civil* Juſtice, in regard that *France* having ſo many open Frontires and powerful Neighbours by Land, they cannot as other Countries joyn *Peace* and *Security* together.

Touching their Martial Goverment tis very exact; ther are divers Regiments of Horſe and Foot in perpetual pay, being inrolld, and always ready for any occaſion of Service. Moreover, in all the Provinces and places of ſtrength, ther are Governors and Gariſons diſperſd up and down, which is very advantagious for the preferment of the *Gentry*. Now, the Governors are ſo cautiouſly diſpoſd of by the King, that not any of them hath means to betray or deliver up a Province into the Enemies hands, the commands therof being ſo divided: For though the *Governor* commands the Country in general, and commonly the chief Town, yet ther is a *Lieutenant* that holds alſo by Patent immediatly from the King, and not from the Governor, and betwixt theſe two ther are ſome emulations and umbrages ever and anon. Then moſt part of their Towns, Caſtles and Fortreſſes have particular Governors not ſubordinat to the Governor of the

the Province, but deriving their power expreſly from the King; ſo that in many places the *Town* hath one Governor, and the *Caſtle* another; Indeed the Country of *Provence* only was uſd to have a Privilege, that Her Governor held it without a Lieutenant.

The *Nobleſſe* or Gentry in *France* are the ſole body which participat in ſome ſort with the Prerogatives of the Crown; for from it they receave Privileges above other men, and a kind of limited Regality upon their Tenants, beſides real Supplies to their Eſtates by divers Employments, Penſions, and exemption from Tallies upon their own Demeans and Lands as long as they manure them by their own ſervants: but what Lands they let out to Tenants is preſently Talliable, which cauſeth proportionable abatements in the Rent; and in compenſation for this, They onely owe the King the ſervice of the *Ban* and *Arriereban*, which is to ſerve him or his General three months within the Land at their own coſt. Now as in time of War the *Nobleſſe* undergo moſt part of the danger, ſo is their power then more peremptory above the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects; wheras in time of Peace the King is ready to countenance inferiour perſons againſt them, and is contented to ſee them waſt one another by contention in Law, or otherwiſe, for fear they grow too rich, Becauſe it is a principle of State in *France*, That as the *Nobleſſe* uſe to do him the beſt ſervice, ſo, *They* only miſapplyed can do him moſt harm. Now, the ancient French Gentry was much diminiſhed in the Croiſades, or Wars of the Holy Land, becauſe that to enable them for the ſervice, divers of them did hipotheque or morgage their Fiefs and Lands to the Church, which are not redeemd to this day: Inſomuch that it is thought by ſundry Computations which have bin made, that the *Gallican* Church poſſeſſeth the third part of the fatteſt *Fiefs* in *France*. Now, upon the foreſaid diminution, the French Gentry have been repaird and made up ſince from time to time of Advocats, Financiers, and Merchants, wherof a great many by the Kings favor are daily ennobled.

Such a gallant Goverment *France* hath for the common Incolumity and publik defence of the Country, and for the employment of the Gentry who are more numerous there then in any Kingdome els; wherby the tru Rules of Policy are obſervd that ſhold be in a Monarchy, which are For the *King* to command, The *Nobles* to *execut*, and The *Peeple* to *obey*; and indeed the Peeple ſhold know nothing els but how to obey.

Now, one of the prime Principles in *France* is to keep the common Peeple under a perfect ſubjection, ſo that they may not be able to do any hurt. And if they are kept poor hereby, let them thank themſelfs; for if they were pamperd with wealth, They wold be ever and anon kicking at Goverment: for we

know ther is not a more inſtable hair-braind Monſter in the world then the Common Peeple, as *England* of late yeers hath had ſuch woful experience.

Touching the *Civil* Goverment of *France*, and adminiſtration of Juſtice, it is of that high eſteem that divers Forren Princes have referrd their Cauſes to be determind to the Court of Parlement in *Paris*, as a Conſiſtory of high Reaſon and Integrity. It ſtands upon record how the Emperour *Frederik* the ſecond referrd the controverſies betwixt him and Pope *Innocent* the fourth touching the Kingdome of *Naples* to the deciſion of this Court, *En dernier reſſort*, to paſs a Definitif unappealable Judgement. The Count *Namurs* in a Difference twixt him and *Charles de Valois*, did caſt himſelf upon the verdict of this Court: *Philip* Prince of *Tarentum* overcame the Duke of *Burgundy* in this Court touching the Expences he was at in recovering the *Greek Empire*: The Dukes of *Lorain* have in divers things ſtood to the Arbitrament and Juſtice of this Court: They of *Cambray* when they were a Free Peeple have, been willing to be tryed by this Court: The Confederacy alſo of the Kingdome of *Caſtile* and *Portugal* was confirmd by this Court. Now, the reaſon why this Court gains ſuch a high Repute, is, That none are admitted to ſit in that Tribunal but perſons of known Integrity, Erudition and Gallantry; which made *Henry* the ſecond, as *Lanſius* hath it, when by the importunity of a great Princeſs he had recommended one to ſit there, and being a perſon but of ſhallow parts, and ſo rejected, the King ſaid merrily, *Je penſois que parmy tant de Ginets un Aſne pourroit bien paſſer*; I thought that among ſo many Ginets one Aſs might have paſſd well enough.

Beſides *this* of *Paris*, ther are divers other Courts of *Parlement* (and *Præſidial Seats*) diſperſd up and down the Country in ſuch a convenient diſtance, that the Client may not be put to make long Journies for Juſtice, and that the Poor be not oppreſſd by the Rich for want of means to make ſuch long Journies wherby they ſuffer the ſuit to fall, as many uſe to do in *England* in the remoteſt places from *London* for want of ſuch Courts.

I will conclude alſo this third Argument with ſome choice Verſes of *Ludovicus Bologninus* a celebrated *Civilian*:

Francorum Reges ſacro ſub nomine nati
Conſilio ſemper valuerunt, ſemper & Armis,
Sanctaq; fautores Bonitatis Jura tenentes
Appellat Romana ſuos Eccleſia gnatos,
Et Primogenitos tali ſunt nomine digni,
His Deus Imperium dedit, & ſua Jura tuetur,
Unguntur, ſancti fiunt quicunq; creantur.

The fourth Argument,

A Religione, & Nobilitate Eccleſiæ, *from Religion, and Nobleneſs of the Church.*

SOme Authors affirm, that when our *Saviour* ſufferd upon the Croſs, He lookd towards *France*; whence they infer, that it was a bleſſed Omen that *Chriſtian* Religion ſhold floriſh moſt in that Kingdome. Moreover, it is a rare, and indeed an unparallelld thing, that ther was in *France* before the paſſion of our *Saviour* a Church, *viz. Eccleſia Carnotenſis*, as it remains upon good record, which was dedicated *Virgini Paritura*, to the Virgin that ſhold bear; as we read ther was in *Greece* an Altar erected Τῷ ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ, *To the unknown God.* This made the Emperour *Julius Cæſar*, who had felt the pulſe of that peeple more then any other, to give this *Encomium* of them in his Commentaries, *Natura eſt omnium Gallorum admodum dedita Religioni*, Tis the nature of all the Gauls to be much addicted to Religion.

As in the dark times of *Paganiſm* they were obſervd to be ſo devout, ſo ſince the glorious Light of Chriſtianity did ſhine upon the *Flower de Luces*, the French Nation hath bin found to be tranſported with an extraordinary zeal to Religion. And this Heavenly Light began to ſhine and ſhoot its Rays betimes: for we read that *Iræneus* one of the firſt Primitive Fathers was Biſhop of *Lions*, and he was Diſciple to *Polycarpus*, and *Polycarpus* was Diſciple to St. *John* the Evangeliſt, by whom he was ſent from *Aſia* among the *Gaules* for the plantation and propagation of Chriſtian Faith, as St. *Hierome* relates. St. *Hilarius* who was another Father of the Primitive Church, was alſo Biſhop of the *Picts* in *France*, where he compoſd his excellent Works which are partly *Expoſitory*, partly *Controverſial*, though ther occur often ſome African barbarous Latin words in them, as *diſfrocite* for degenerate, *Zabulus* for diabolus, *&c.*

What a multitude of Hevenly Martyrs hath *France* had! for in all the ten Perſecutions ther were ſome of them ſignd ſtill their *Faith* with their bloud. In the Emperour *Valerians* time ther were famous *French* Martyrs, as *Florentius* Biſhop of *Vienna*, *Pontius Caſsius Victorinus*, *Liminius*, *Anatolianus*, with others whom *Gregory Turonenſis* mentions, and whoſe names are enrolld in the Catalog of Saints to all poſterity. And this was a little before the unluckly *Novatian* Hereſie crept into *France*, and infected divers other Countries.

Nay, to go higher up, and to the very ſource of Chriſtianity, ther are ſome Authors who avouch that St. *Paul* was in *France*, and

and that the chief Church in *Vienna* was built by him, as this ancient Verſe there engraven ſhews:

Paulus præco Crucis tibi dat primordia Lucis.

Ther be other Authors who affirm that St. *Peter* alſo was in *France*; And that ther landed at one time in *Marſeilles Lazarus*, *Mary Magdalen*, *Martha* and *Marcella*, as it is recorded in a Manuſcript of the Engliſh Hiſtory in the *Vatican* wherof *Baronius* makes mention; And about that time *Joſeph* of *Arimathea*, that Noble Decurion, paſſd through *France* into *Britain* with the foreſaid *Marcella*, who was *ſhe* that is mentiond in the Goſpel, who being divinely inſpird, cryed out with a loud voice when *Chriſt* was preaching, *Happy is the womb that brought Thee forth, and the paps that gave Thee ſuck.*

Spencæus alſo makes mention that St. *Luke* was in *France*; As alſo *Savinianus* one of the 72 Diſciples, and *Martialis* another of them, who ſome do affirm to be He who ſold the five Barly Loaves and the two Fiſhes wherwith our Saviour fed five thouſand.

And if the Holy Reliques of bleſſed Saints may adde to the Nobleneſs of a Country, the Churches of *France* are full of them; *Reperies in Francia* (as *Caſſanæus* relates) *omnes Chriſti Exuvias, quippe præputium, Inconſutilem togam, Spineum diadema, Crucem, Clavos, Spongiam, Lanciæ cuſpidem, & cum qua ſepultus eſt ſindonem.* You will find in *France* all the *Exuvias* or Spoiles of Chriſt, his *præputium*, his ſeamleſs coar, his Croſs, the Nayls, the Sponge, the point of the Spear, and the Winding-ſheet wherin he was buried. *Caſſanæus* goes further, and ſays, that in *Burgundy* the body of *Lazarus* is buried, as alſo *Mary Magdalens* aſhes are kept in a noble Cheſt, and likewiſe thoſe of *Martha*, *Martialis*, and of the three *Maries*. Adde herunto the moſt precious head of *John Baptiſt*, and the *finger* wherwith he pointed at the immaculat Lamb of God. The eleven thouſand Virgins are yet kept in *France*; And likewiſe the reliques of St. *Denis*, *Martin*, *Coſma*, *Damianus*, *Sebaſtian*, with other Chriſtian Hero's are to be found in *France*; As *Claudius* and *Edmundus*, whoſe bodies, bones and fleſh are to be ſeen to this day, and are frequently viſited by Pilgrims. Ther are alſo to be ſeen the three *Twins*, St. *Geneveva*, St. *German*, St. *Hilary*, with ſundry others. I muſt not omit the Body of St. *Quintinus* a great Martyr, who hath a Town of his name to this day, which formerly was calld *Samarobrina* from the River *Samoria*; which Martyr after many perſecutions and puniſhments under *Diocleſian* and *Maximinianus* was at laſt beheaded; his body and head were thrown into the River *Samoria*, where it lay many years, until a Roman Matron calld *Euſebia* being

being warnd by an Angel came to ſearch for the body, which being found, it immediatly cur'd her ſore eyes; and ſo ſhe put the body and head under ground, wheron ſince a mighty Sanctuary was erected bearing his name, and calld St. *Quintin*: 300 years after, in the raign of King *Dagobert*, his body was taken out of the earth and put in a gold Cheſt, where it remains to this day, and wherunto a great confluence of Pilgrims do frequently reſort by reaſon of the great miracles that he hath wrought in point of health to many thouſands; all which particulars *Caſſanæus* relates.

Touching the Nobleneſs of the *French* Fabriques erected and conſecrated for the worſhip and ſervice of God Almighty, as *Baſilicas*, Temples, Churches, Sanctuaries, and other *Domes* of Devotion, the whole earth hath not fairer or more magnificent; as alſo Priories, Abbeys, Convents, Monaſteries, *&c.* What a glorious and indeed admired ſtructure is the great *Carthuſian* Monaſtery in *Provence!* It may be calld a little *Chriſtian Commonwealth* of it ſelf, and hath Revenues able to bear up the port of a Souvrain Prince.

Now ther is no Church upon the ſurface of the Terreſtrial Globe that is comparable to the *Freneh* in Revenues and Riches; for the laſt computation which was made, the Revenues of the *Gallican* Clergie amounted to above three hundred and twenty millions of *Livres*; a ſtupendous ſum! And indeed *They* need have ſo much; for beſides ſuch a world of Abbots, Priors, Monks, Prieſts, and other Eccleſiaſtical Dignitaries, ther are in *France* 15 *Archbiſhops*, and 150 *Suffragan* Biſhops; and ſuch is the honor which is born there to the *Mitre*, that they are all *Privy-Counſellors* by their Dignity, and by the Laws of *France*, though few do come to the ſaid Council unleſs they have an intimation of the Kings pleſure by particular Letter.

The fifth Argument,

A Nobilitate Subditorum, *from the Nobleneſs of Subjects.*

IN the third Argument going before, ther were ſome touches of the French *Nobleſſe* and Gentry, how numerous they are, and the many ways of Preferment the King hath for *Cadets* or younger Brothers, wheras the *elder* uſe to have great Eſtates of their own; For indeed ſome of them have mighty Fortunes by Patrimonial Inheritance. The laſt Duke of *Guyſe* kept a Houſe like a Souvrain Prince; he had above two hundred Gentlemen waited on him as menial ſervants, and having Domeſtik dependency, unto whom he gave ſuch a liberal allowance and long Leaſes out of his eſtate, that they might live like Gentlemen;

tlemen; which made one tell the Duke that he had turnd all his *Estate* to *Obligations*; meaning that he had obligd so many unto him by his munificence and bounty.

Yet ther are three sorts of Subjects that live but poorly in *France*, which are the *Roturier*, the *Vigneron*, and the *Peasan*. But they who dwell in Towns, and have any Profession or Trade, live well enough: But the main wealth of the Country is among the Gentry or Noblesse, who live plentifully and well.

Among divers others, ther is one singular quality in the *French* Gentry, that they are extraordinarily affected to their King, and they are pleasd in nothing more then to have access, and see him. Ther is a world of examples how close they have stuck to him in the Wars when his person was in hazard, and rescued him though danger and death were inevitable in the Action. For Horsmanship and Chivalry they surpass all other; and indeed ther is none that becomes a Horse so well, and hath a more comely seat on his back then a French-man.

Adde herunto that the French Noblesse are naturally *Valiant*, quick and hardy, not onely in the Wars, and publick Engagements, but in privat Feuds, ther being more Duels fought there then in all *Christendome* besides. Nor is ther any Nation more covetous of *Honor*, or more careful and tender to conserve it when they have it.

I will conclude this Argument in brief with the opinion of a famous Poet, who sings thus of them:

Gallia fert acres animos, & Idonea bello
Corpora, non illis ausit componere sese
Thracia quæ Martem genuit, non Parthia versis
Quæ bellatur equis fugiens, licet inclyta Crasso
Facta sit extincto signisq; superba Latinis.
Quas Gentes olim non contrivere? per omnem
Invecti Europam quasi grando Aquilone vel Austro
Importata gravi passim sonuere tumultu.
Scit Romanus adhuc, & quam Tarpeia videtis
Arx attollentem caput Illo in monte superbum;
Pannones Emathii norunt, scit Delphica Tellus
Quam nisi terrificis subito convulsa ruinis
Oppressisset eos, non defendisset Apollo.

The ſixth Argument,

A Plenitudine Poteſtatis Regiæ, *from the Abſolutneſs of Royal Power.*

THer is no Monark among Chriſtians that hath a more plenary and abſolut power then the King of *France*, take together all the Prerogatives that a King is capable of. *He only* can make Peace, or denounce War; *He only* can convoke, diſcontinue and diſſolve Parlements, I mean the *Aſſembly* of the Three Eſtates; *He only* can pardon; *He only* can naturalize and ennoble; *He only* can put value upon Coin; *He only* can preſs to the War: Nay, *He* hath power not only to do all *this*, but he can make Laws, and impoſe Taxes at pleſure; All which he doth by his own Royal Edicts. For as touching the formality that the ſaid Edicts ſhold be confirmd by the next Court of Parlement, that is, by the next Aſſembly of the Three Eſtates, That *Aſſembly* is now grown as obſolete as a *General Council*, for ther hath been none theſe fifty years and upward.

Beſides the Real *Demeans* of the Crown, the King hath to ſupport his Greatneſs, 2. *La Taille*; 3. *Le Taillon*; 4. *Les Aydes*; 5. *Les Equivalents*; 6. *Les Equipollents*; 7. *Les Crues*, *ou Augmentations*; 8. *L' Offroy*, *ou Benevolence*; 9. *La Gabelle*; 10. *Les Impoſts*; 11. Le haut paſſage, or *Domain forain*, (for goods exported;) 12. *Le Trait Forain*, (for goods imported;) 13. *La Solde de* 50000 Soldats; 14. The *Tenths* beſides. All theſe Impoſitions are as old as *Lewis* the eleventh, who, wheras before moſt of them were laid and levied upon extraordinary occaſions, he found a way to make them perpetual. And if thoſe fourteen *Strings* touchd before will not ſerve his turn, he hath power to make more for his *Bow* when he pleaſeth; and herein the King of *France* hath the advantage of his two Neighbouring Kings: This is that indeed which makes him ſo potent; Hereby he can lade an Aſſe with Gold when he will to break in through any Wall though otherwiſe never ſo inexpugnable. It is a *full* Purſe that makes a King both feard at home, and formidable abroad; wheras the contrary makes him but a kind of Scar-crow King, as the *Spaniard* tells us in his Proverb, *Don ſin dinero no es Don, ſi no Donayre.*

I will conclude with the *Greek* Poet, who ſings to this purpoſe very elegantly:

Ἀργυρέαις λογχάϊς μάχου καὶ πάντα κρατήσεις.

Wherwith

Wherwith the *Latin* doth *verbatim* and exactly correſpond both in ſenſe and verſe:

Argenteis pugna telis, atq; omnia vinces.
Fight with Silver Weapons and thou ſhalt conquer all.

The ſeventh Argument,

A Potentiâ Regni, *from the Strength of the Kingdome.*

THer is not ſuch an intrinſique united Power, ſuch a knot of Strength any where as *France* is: Ther are in *France* thirty thouſand Pariſhes, ſo that taking but ten men out of one Pariſh with another, an Army may be compoſd of two hundred and fifty thouſand Combatants; beſides the City of *Paris*, that huge *Maſs* and *Miſcelany* of all Nations, which may furniſh well-neer as many more: And it may be ſaid that *France* was never ſo powerful ſince the time of *Charlemain* as now ſhe is, nor ſo *entire*, and that for many reaſons. Firſt, in regard that the *Hugonots*, or they of the Proteſtant Religion, are reduced to an exact ſubjection, who indeed were the greateſt weakneſs of *France* before; for oftentimes they ſervd as *Dark Lanterns* to other Princes both abroad as well as at home, to put *Combuſtions* in *France* at pleſure. They might be calld *Regnum in Regno*, having ſuch a conſiderable ſtrength as above 200 Towns, in many wherof they kept Gariſons, for the maintenance wherof the King himſelf was to contribut by *Article*. Two of theſe Towns commanded the great River of *Loire*, and others were neer the Sea, ſo conſequently fit to receave Forren aſſiſtance, as *Rochel*, the taking wherof did much ſtartle *Spain*, who had ſhe foreknown that *England* could not have done it, ſhe wold have ſent aſſiſtance her ſelf: which made Cardinal *Richelieu* to raunt that he had taken *Rochel en depit de Trois Roys*, in deſpite of three Kings, *viz.* the King of *England*, the King of *Spain*, and the King of *France* himſelf, who was a great while averſe to that buſineſs. But now all thoſe Towns of caution and ſafety the *Hugonots* had, are diſmantled; beſides, they have no *Gariſon* any where, ſo that they are to relie for the future ſoly upon the Kings favor, wherby they are brought to a perfect paſs of obedience; which great Five Kings of *France* before the *laſt* endevoured to do, but could never effect it.

Secondly, *France* is far more powerful becauſe of the three *Keys* which *Richelieu* ſaid he had got, *viz.* *Briſac* to enter *Germany*, *Pignorol* to enter *Italy*, and *Perpignan* to enter *Spain* at pleſure, having therby beſides added to *France* the whole County of *Rouſsillon*.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, becauſe he hath got in a manner all *Lorain*, which was formerly a Countermure twixt *France* and *Germany*, being engagd by homage to the *Empire*.

Fourthly, he hath got the Gariſon of *Strange* Soldiers which were in *Orenge* to be diſmiſſd, and the Caſtle as good as diſmantled; which lying within the bowels of one of his own Provinces, might be ſaid to be another weakneſs to *France*. He hath alſo got the *Italian* Gariſon in *Avignon* to be caſheerd, which alſo was another inconvenience to *France* lying within her Verge, and hath made himſelf Maſter of the place, though it was part of *St. Peters* poſſeſſion above 300 years.

Laſtly, he hath *Graveling* with *Dunkirk* and other Towns in the *Netherlands*. All which conſidered, it may be ſaid that the power of the Kingdome of *France* is much more improvd then it was formerly in many hundred years.

The eighth Argument,
Ab Opulentia & Fertilitate, *from Wealth and Fertility.*

IN one of the former Arguments we ſpake of the four Staple Commodities of *France*, *viz. Corn*, *Salt*, *Hemp* and *Wines*; To theſe may be added *Silks*, *Oyls*, *Woollen Stuffs*, and *Saffron*; All manner of delicat fruits, as *Orenges*, *Lemons*, *Cytrons*: The Lady *Flora* alſo hath one of her choiceſt houſes of pleſure there, as well as *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, ther being ſuch abundance of choice fragrant flowers to be found in evry Garden; As likewiſe all ſorts of Edible Roots and Salade-Herbs. *Pomona* alſo may be ſaid to have her beſt Orchard there, for the excellentſt *Cyder* is made in *Low Normandy*; and thoſe who are habituated to drink it, are obſervd to have cleerer Complexions then others who have only *Wine* for their drink. Ther are not more delightful Medows and Fields on the ſurface of the earth, ſuch huge herds of Cattle, and variety of Stuffs and Cloth made, which makes *Le Drap de Berry* in ſuch high requeſt; with the moſt curious rich Sattins and Velvets of *Tours*. Ther is not ſuch a *Beau-die*, ſuch a Scarlet Die in any Country. What thick ſwarms of Bees, and delicat Hony is found in every Peaſans Garden? What delightful Woods and Lawns, Chaces and vaſt Foreſts, with whole Hoſts of huge headed Deer, (and other Beaſts for *Venery*) range up and down! Such *Foreſts* that the *Sylvan Gods* themſelfs are ſeen ſometimes to hunt in them: As ther is a rare Paſſage recorded by the *Biſhop* of *Rhodes* in his late Annals of *Henry* the Fourth, that at a great appointment of Hunting one day in *Fountainbleau*, as the King was in the heat of his chace, ther was another cry of Hounds and Horns heard, which afterward coming neer, a black man plainly appeerd to all, who cryed out

three times, *Amendez vous, Amendez vous, Amendez vous*; and ſo he and his Hounds vaniſhed: The Wood-men and Officers of the Foreſt being queſtiond about it, they anſwerd, That that black man was often ſeen to hunt there with his Dogs, and wold ſuddenly diſappeer, but he never uſd to do hurt to any body: And ſurely this could not be the Devil, as ſome poor ſhallow-braind *Authors* do aſſert *all Spirits of the Air* to be. Go to the Bowels of *France*, and ſhe is full of Mines, and Marble in many places, with great plenty of *Iron*, (the beſt and worſt thing belonging to humane uſe.) Look upwards towards *Heven*, and you ſhall ſee the *Air* throngd with *Volatils* of all ſorts. Nor is ther any Country on earth ſo conveniently *waterd* as well with Sources and *Sanative* waters, as with great *Navigable* Rivers; which makes evry part of the Country communicable one to the other in point of mutual commerce, for all the great Towns are ſituated upon ſome *Boat-bearing* Rivers: And beſides, they are ſo delightful, that ſome of them are ſaid to be *embroderd with Swans, borderd with Crevices, and pavd with Troutes*, with all ſorts of delicat Fiſh: Inſomuch that ther is nothing which Air, Earth or Water can affoord as well for Voluptuouſneſs and Luxe, as for neceſſity and common ſuſtenance, but *France* affoords it in a kind of exuberance. *Paris* is ſuch a place of infinit proviſion, that *Monſieur Vigner* ſaid, If he were to give a Treatment to the moſt luxurious Feaſters among the *Romans*, (were they alive) as *Apitius, Lucullus, Pompey*, with many more, he wold deſire but one days warning to do it, and they ſhold be ſo ſervd that they wold confeſs they never found the like in *Rome*. How many *Ordinaries* are ther in *Paris* of *Piſtol*-price, and the Tables ſervd all in Plate? Which makes the *Italian* Poet break out very ingeniouſly into the praiſes of *France*, thus:

Gallia Terreni pars eſt non infima mundi,
Sed longè latéq; patens———
Terra Hominum, Frugúmq; ferax, Armenta, Gregéſq;
Uberiùs paſcens, plebi non languida Cœlo
Tabifico. Non mortiferis infecta venenis
Ut Lybiæ, non perpetuis adoperta pruinis
Sicut Hyperborei Montes, non torrida ab æſtu
Qui faciat ſteriles, ut decolor India, campos.
Non etiam noctis pallens ſemeſtribus umbris,
Quale ſub Arcturo poſitum Mare, & ultima Thule;
Sed nec ut Egyptus quia fuſa paluſtribus undis,
Sed Cœlo, & teneræ fœcunda uligine Terræ,
Venatu, Aucupio campos, Montana, lacuſq;
Sallicitant, bellandi uſu lætantur Equorum
Terga fatigantes, loricæ, haſtilia, & arcus.

Delicia

Deliciæ Genti ſub dio ad ſydera ſomnum
Carpere, fuſcari ſole, & ferrugine pulchrum eſt,
Pulvere conſpergi, & gravius ſudare ſub Armis
Pro Patria, pro Cognatis, pro Regibus ire
In pugnam, & gladios, & morti occumbere dulce eſt.

The ninth Argument,

A Fortitudine & Rebus in Bello actis, *from Valour and Exploits performed in the War.*

IT is recorded in good Story, that *Alexander* the great Founder of the third *Monarchy, viz.* the *Greek*, hearing much of the Fortitude of the *Gaules*, and it ſeems having read of the great Exploits perſormd both in *Italy*, by ranſacking *Rome*, as alſo in *Greece* her ſelf, under the conduct of *Brennus* that valiant *Britain*, the *Cadet* of *Mulmutius Donwallo* the famous *Legiſlator*, and firſt King that wore a Crown of Gold in *Great Britain* many hundred years before the *Romanes* entred: I ſay, that *Alexander* hearing ſo much, and reading of the Martial Achievments of the *Gaules*, (now *French*) ſent to know of Them, *what they feard moſt?* They anſwerd, *Ne Cœlum rueret*, Leſt the Heven ſhold fall: A magnanimous anſwer! And the *French* Nation muſt by natural inclination be magnanimous and Martial, becauſe the Aſtronomers who are ſo converſant with Hevenly Bodies, and their virtual power in relation to *Earth*, affirm, that the Planet *Mars* is the Aſcendent of *France*, and hath a peculiar influence upon that Nation more then upon any other. To pretermit for brevities ſake many other *victorious Kings* who had raignd formerly, what a triumphant *Hero* was *Charlemain!* He vanquiſhd the *Saracens* in the *Holy Land*, He freed *Spain* from them; He was a mighty Champion of *Chriſt*, and of the Roman Church: For He reſtord two Popes, *viz. Adrian* and *Leo*, the one being *beſiegd*, the other *baniſhd*, and living in exile. This was the Prince who repaird the Weſtern *Empire* being almoſt mouldred into duſt, and rayſd it to as high a pitch of ſublimity as ever it was, by congregating the ſcatterd Dominions therof: This was He who overthrew the Tyranny of the *Longobards* which his Father *Pepin* had begun, and quite freed *Italy* of *them*, where they had lived and *lorded* above two hundred yeers. He ſubdued the Empire of the *Huns*, ſecurd *England*, tam'd *Bavaria*, ſubjugated *Spain*, and poſſeſſd *Italy*. He drive the *Moors* out of *Corſica*, the *Carthaginians* out of *Sardinia*, the *Saracens* from the *Baleares Inſulæ Mallorca*, &c. This was he who trounc'd the *Bohemians*, checkd the Impiety of the *Danes*, broke the fierceneſs of the *Sclavonians*, and reducd the *Saxons* to Civility.

This

This is He whom all the *Oriental* Princes admird, (as well as the *Weſt*) receaving their Ambaſſadors laden with rich preſents, and deſiring a frendſhip and confederacy with him. This is He who was the founder of the *Univerſity* of *Paris*, being very learned himſelf by the Inſtructions he receavd from *Alcuin* that famous *Engliſh-man*.

This was that pious Prince who confirmd the Donation which *Conſtantin* the great his predeceſſor made unto the Holy Father the Vicar of Chriſt of the City of *Rome*, and conferd alſo upon Him the *Exarchatſhip* of *Ravenna*: Therfore was he as deſervedly as gloriouſly Crownd in *Rome* Emperour of the *Weſt*, and the Title of *Chriſtianiſtimus* given Him, the Empire continuing in his Race by direct Line above a hundred and ten yeers.

What glorious Expeditions have bin made ſince in the Holy Land by five ſeveral Kings of *France* in perſon? Me thinks I behold *Godefroy* of *Bouillon* being countenanced and aſſiſted by the *French* King, and having morgagd ſome part, and ſold the reſt of his Duchy for that Enterpriſe, marching with a huge Army through *Germany*, *Hungary* and *Greece*, and ſo paſſing to *Aſia* to encounter the Forces of *Solyman* the *Ottoman* Emperour, and *Chalypha* the Soldan of *Egypt*, with other Infidel Kings whom he put to flight, making himſelf Maſter of *Nice*, of *Antioch*, and *Hieruſalem* her ſelf, with the Holy Sepulchre of *Chriſt*. Me thinks I ſee Him when he was to be crownd King of *Jeruſalem*, throwing away the Crown of *Gold*, and taking one of *Thorns* in imitation of our bleſſed *Saviour*. Me thinks I ſee all the Princes therabouts Tributaries unto him, and bringing him rich preſents, though He himſelf went clad but in the habit of a common *Gregarian* Soldier; wherat ſome of the ſaid Princes being aſtoniſhd, askd, How comes it to paſs that ſo great a Conqueror who hath ſhaken all the Eaſtern world ſhold go ſo plain and homely?

But to draw to a concluſion of this Argument, let's deſcend lower to ſome of the Modern Kings of *France*, and the two laſt will afford matter enough to confirm the *Fortitude* of the *French* Nation, *viz.* *Henry* the Fourth, and his Son *Lewis* the Thirteenth: Concerning the firſt, *Valour* and *Fortune* may be ſaid to contend which ſhold entitle him *Henry the Great*; They both ſtrivd for maſtery in *Him*, and which ſhold overcome: He was Conqueror in *four* ſignal Battails; In *thirty-five* hot Skirmiges; In above a *hundred* perſonal Encounters, with the ſiege of about *three hundred* ſeveral places, wherin He provd always Victorious; which makes his memory to continue ſtill freſh in *France*, and makes new impreſſions from Fathers to Sons to ren-

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der it eternal. Ther is ſcarce any conſiderable Town but hath his Statue in Braſs or Marble, and Pictures innumerable; inſomuch that one ſaid, *Una Henrici Oblivio erit occaſus Humani generis*, The Oblivion of *Henry* alone will be the end of Mankind: But for a tru Character of him, I will inſert here that which is engraven on the *Cheval de bronze*, the Braſen Horſe on the *Pont-Neuf* in ſight of the *Louvre* his moſt Royal Caſtle in *Paris*; which character runs thus:

Je ſuis Henry *grand Honneur de la Terre,*
Aſtre de Paix, & Foudre de la Guerre;
L' Amour de Bons, la Crainte de Pervers;
Dont les Vertus meritoient l' Univers.

Henry I am, the Glory of Mankind,
The Star of Peace, and Thunderbolt of War;
The ſpur of Vertu, ſcourge of Vice; A Mind
That merited to ſway more Scepters far.

Touching his Son and immediat Succeſſor *Lewis* the Thirteenth, he alſo did mighty things. He began to bear Arms, and wear Buff almoſt when he was no higher then a *Sword*, at which height they ſay the Kings of *France* are out of their *Minority:* but before he came out of *His*, he repreſſd two ill-favourd Commotions in *Poitou* and *Britany*. He continued Conqueror all his life-time, nor did He know what it was to be beaten. He bangd all his Neighbours round about him: He clammerd twice with his Armies ore the *Alps*, and came back again, having done the buſineſs he went for. He climd likewiſe with his Troops up the *Pyreney* Hills, and eſtabliſhd a *Viceroy* in the Kingdome of *Catalonia*. He croſſd ore the *Meuſe*, and made many deep *Hacks* in the *Ragged Staff*. His Horſes foorded ore the *Rhine*, and helpd to *cuff the Eagle* illfavouredly in the *German Air*. And laſtly, He foyld the *Engliſh* at the Ile of *Rhe*. Theſe were Exploits abroad. At *home* alſo within his Kingdome He did marvailous things, by ſuppreſſing ſo many *Civil Inſurrections*; and laſtly, by debelling the *Hugonots*, which his five immediat *Predeceſſors* could not effect, though they attempted it many ways: Then which Action nothing could conduce more to the ſecurity and improvement of the power of the *French* Crown, and the tranquillity of the Country.

The tenth and laſt Argument,

Ab Exemplo & Authoritate Hiſtoricâ, *from Examples and Hiſtorical Authority.*

THe Arguments which went before may be ſaid to be Embroderies and Floriſhes of *Reaſon*; yet thoſe *Floriſhes* were wrought upon good *Subſtantial* ſtuff: but this laſt Argument hath more of ſolidneſs, legality and weight in it; for it conſiſts of Examples, and Hiſtorical Authentik Proofs of Antiquity, which the *Logitian* tells us is one of the ſtrongeſt way of Argumentation.

We will not make ſuch over-curious Retroſpects as to look on the times before *Charlemain*, though ther be divers examples that ever ſince the time of *Clouis*, who was the firſt *Chriſtian* King of *France*, (which was above 300 years before) which prove that the Kings of *France* had Prerogatives of Seſſion, and Precedence both of Place and Perſon next to the Emperour. But ſince *Charlemain* had the title of *Chriſtianiſsimus* given him, ther be divers cleer and convincing proofs, how after the Empire was devolvd from *Charlemains* Race to the houſes of *Saxony*, *Suevia* and *Auſtria*; nay ſince *Auſtria* came to the higheſt cumble of greatneſs and multitude of new Dominions, the Kings of *France* have ſtill had the Antecedence both in General Councils, in aſſiſting the holy Offices of the Church, and in attending the Popes Perſon. Now tis known that the Court of *Rome*, with the Rules and practice therof, is fitteſt to determine this Queſtion of Precedence.

Mauſonius and others have it upon good record, how *Anno* 1564. Pope *Pius* the fourth paſſd a ſolemn Decree, That the Kings of *France* ought to have the Precedence of any other King. Nor indeed in former Ages did any King contend with him herabouts but the *King* of *England*. The *Spaniard* did but of late years ſtand for it; it is but ſince the Raign of *Charles* the fifth. And as the Kings of *France* before claimd it as ſucceeding *Charlemain*, ſo the Kings of *Spain* wold challenge it as ſucceeding *Charles* the Fifth.

Yet in the famous Treaty at *Vervins* 1598. after long Concertations and canvaſſing of the point *Pro & Con*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors made a Ceſſion of *Precedence* to the *French*; And *Baldus* the great *Civilian*, as *Purpuratus* relates, affirmeth categorically, *Nemo præſumat Honorem ſuper vexilla Invictiſsimi Franciæ Regis.* It is tru, that ſome Writers rank Kings thus; The King of *Hieruſalem*, the King of *France*, the King of *Sicily*, and the King of *England*; which four are the only *Anointed Kings:* And for this they ſhew an old Manuſcript of the Church of *Rome*, calld *Provincialis.*

Provincialis. Saint *Gregory* writes to *Childebert*, *Quanto cæteros homines Regia Dignitas antecellit, tanto cæterarum gentium Regna Regni veſtri culmen excellit:* As far as Royal Dignity excels all other men, ſo far doth the glory of your Kingdome excel others. *Honorius* the third ſays, *Reges Gallorum oppoſuerunt ſe tanquam murus inexpugnabilis pro populo Chriſtiano:* The Kings of *France* oppoſd themſelfs as an inexpugnable Wall for the Chriſtian Peeple. *Gregory* the ninth ſaith, *Regnum Galliæ eſt quaſi Pharetra quam Chriſtus ſibi circa femur accinxit, ex qua ſagittas electas extrahens, ipſas ut ſibi gentes & Regna ſubjiciat, in arcum brachii potentiæ emittit: France* is a Quiver which Chriſt tied to his thigh, whence he draws Arrows for the ſubduing of Nations and Kingdomes, *&c.*

Now, touching the point of Precedence, the notableſt Conteſts that *France* hath had, have been with *Spain* in the *Council* of *Trent*, which laſted ſo many long years by intermiſſions: the relations wherof lie ſcatterd up and down in divers Hiſtories, but we ſhall endeavour to give here a diſtinct and uninterrupted Narration thereof, but firſt we will ſpeak of a ſignal Conteſt in *Venice.*

The famous Conteſt twixt the moſt Chriſtian *and* Catholique *Kings in* Venice, *as alſo in the Council of* Trent.

IT is well known how that before the rearing up of that huge Coloſſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which was *Anno* 1516. when *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* died, *Charles* rendred himſelf very potent both in *Italy* as well as in *Spain*. But he encreaſd more ſtrength after the death of *Maximilian*, being choſen Emperour in his place, at which time he was mounted to the higheſt pitch of ſublimity and power: I ſay, tis well known how till that time the Kings of *France* were acknowledged the *firſt* after the perſon of the *Emperour*, who hath ſtill preference given him before all ſecular Princes whatſoever. Now, the Queſtion was never *Sur le tapis*, was never controverted about *Priority* twixt *France* and *Spain* till the houſe of *Auſtria* ſtarted up to that enormous greatneſs. And although before *Charles* the fifth ther were *Six* Emperours of that *Houſe*, and that the quality of Emperour gives precedence to any who legally poſſeſſeth the title, be he of what *Family* ſoever, yet that Prerogative is not given to any of their poſterity being not calld to the *Empire.* In regard in *Elective* States the Election adhering only to the perſon of the Elected, gives the Eminence only to his perſon, excluding all other; yea his own Sons unleſs they be formally elected, although in *Succeſſiv*

ceſsif hereditary patrimonial Eſtates tis otherwiſe. Inſomuch that the houſe of *Auſtria* hath no more right to the Empire then the houſe of *Saxe*, *Luxemburg*, or *Brandenburg*, with other Families who were *Cæſars* before them.

Another *Houſe* which much ſtrengthend that of *Auſtria*, was that of *Burgundy*, which yet was feudetary to *France*, as alſo the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, though the reſt of the ſeventeen Provinces (which came to *Spain* by this alliance with *Burgundy*) are Fiefs of the Empire. The other Houſes who did aggrandize *Charles* the fifth, were *Caſtile* and *Aragon*; *Caſtile* came to be a Kingdome but after the yeer 1000. And the Kings of *England* took always precedence of them. *Arragon* was but a ſmall State, feodary to the Church of *Rome*, until the Kingdome of *Naples* which is alſo a Fief of the Church was annexd unto it. Hereunto as Fortune wold have it, were added the *Weſt-Indies*, diſcoverd firſt by an *Italian*, and offerd to the King of *England*. Then by alliance with *Portugal* the *Eaſt-Indies* came alſo to the Crown of *Caſtile*. This increaſe of *Countries* raiſd the Spirits of the *Spaniard* to claim Precedence of *France* and *England*, two of the moſt ancient Chriſtian Kings. And to go more methodically to work, we will divide the State of the houſe of *Auſtria* to three times; Firſt, to that which preceded the year 1519. when *Charles* was eſtabliſhd in the Empire; The ſecond during his Raign, until he retird to a Clauſtral Life *Anno* 1555; The third to his Progeny ſince.

Touching the firſt, tis certain that notwithſtanding the promotion of this Family to the Empire, yet it continued ſtill homageable to the Empire: For *Philip* the Father of *Charles* the Emperour rendred ſolemn homage to the Chancellor *du Rochefort*, and *Charles* after him for the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois Anno* 1507. ſo that the ſaid *Charles* being born in Gant, was born a Vaſſal to the King of *France*.

That in the Interview of *Lewis* the twelfth, and *Ferdinand* of *Aragon Anno* 1507. at *Savona*, although King *Lewis* uſd great civilities to *Ferdinand* coming to viſit him upon his own Territories, and ſo gave him Precedence, yet the world knows that it was but by way of *Complement*: But before *Charles* mounted the Empire, this Diſpute of Precedence never entred into the Spirit of *Spain*.

In the year 1519. *Charles* was created Emperour, which *Anno* 1555. he reſignd to his Brother *Ferdinand*; and at the ſame time he made a voluntary and abſolut Ceſſion of all the reſt of his Dominions to his Son *Philip* the ſecond; except the Archduchy of *Auſtria*, and the dependences therof in *Germany*. *Philip* though he ſucceeded in the *Empire* to which the Precedence only belongs, yet he endevourd to keep it ſtill, under *pretext* that he

he ſucceeded the Emperour his Father in all his large hereditary Dominions, who always took place in all Aſſemblies, Enterviews and Treatiſes, ſpecially in the great Council of *Trent*, though it was confuſedly, becauſe two qualities were in him of Emperour and King which could not be diſtinguiſhed or ſeparated.

But in the yeer 1555. when meditating upon a retirement he reſignd the Empire to his Brother, and all his Kingdomes to his Son *Philip*, perceaving that his Son could not take precedence of the King of *France* becauſe he was not Emperour, He made uſe of another artifice for conſerving this pre-eminence for his *Son* as well as for his *Brother*. Before his retirement he revokd *Don Franciſco de Vargas* his Ambaſſador in *Venice*, who had always taken precedence of the *French* Ambaſſador without ſcruple: Now, after his reſignation of the Empire, he ſends again the ſaid *Vargas* to *Venice* as *his*, and alſo his Sons Ambaſſador joyntly, though indeed he was but Ambaſſador only to the King of *Spain:* But he thought to over-reach the *Venetian* becauſe he employd ſtill the ſame man qualified in apparance as formerly. *Vargas* demanded of the Senat the ſame precedence as formerly, which the Biſhop of *Lodeve*, Ambaſſador at the ſame time to *Hen.*2. of *France*, oppoſd, remonſtrating to the Senat that *Charles* was no more conſiderable to the world being a recluſd perſon; And if the Ambaſſador of *Ferdinand* to whom he had transferrd the Empire were preſent, he wold yeild place unto *Him*, but he wold not come after the Ambaſſador of King *Philip*.

The Senat apprehending ſome ill iſſue from this Diſpute, orderd that neither of the Ambaſſadors ſhold be preſent at the Feaſt of St. *Mark*; and ſo the buſineſs remaind at a ſtand by the irreſolution of the Senat, and the ſimplicity of the *French* Ambaſſador, who at laſt was contented to give way to the Ordinance of the *Republique* in favor of *Vargas*. But *Anno* 1558. *Francis de Novailles* Biſhop of *Acs* ſucceeding him of *Lodeve*, renewd the Diſpute; and the Ambaſſador of *Ferdinand* arriving about the ſame time, *Novailles* demanded of the Senat to be maintaind in his *Rights*, and to have the firſt place next the *Imperial* Ambaſſadors, and ſo took it couragiouſly before *Vargas*, who obſerving the cunning of the Emperour *Charles*, (who died in this conjuncture of time) was diſcoverd, and that he paſſd for no more then for the Ambaſſador of King *Philip*, *Vargas* began to ſpeak high of the Grandeur of his Maſter, and to diſplay the large Dominions and States he lorded over, far more in numbee then thoſe of the *French* King; alledging that theſe Cuſtoms of Honor and Antecedences ought to be alterd according to the times: That his Maſter was the greateſt King of the world, That he was able to aſſiſt the Republique with Arms, Men and Mony

more then the King of the *French*, *&c.* But the Biſhop of *Acs* though much heat intervend, obtaind of the Senat a *Decree* wherby the precedence was adjudgd him before the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; who loudly complaining therof, the Senat made anſwer, That the Republik did not trouble her ſelf to examine the greatneſs of their Majeſties, but ſhe found within her Regiſters that in all Acts both publik and privat, in all Ceremonies, Viſits, and Audiences, the Ambaſſadors of *France* preceded thoſe of *Spain*; wherin ſhe wold acquieſce. This anſwer offended King *Philip*, who therupon revokd his Ambaſſador. But *Michael Surianus* Ambaſſador for the Republick in the *Spaniſh* Court, defended the *Decree* of the Senat very vigorouſly, and in ſome meſure appeaſd the ſpirit of King *Philip*, who notwithſtanding advancd this queſtion upon all occaſions. The greateſt endevours he uſd, was four years after in the Council of *Trent*, which was the greateſt Theatre of Religion and Honor that had been ſeen above a hundred years before, wherof we ſhall give an exact Relation as followeth.

Of the Council of Trent.

A General Council after the Revolt of *Luther Anno* 1517. was deſird by all Chriſtians, and often propoſd by *Charles* the fifth and *Francis* the firſt of *France* to Pope *Leo* the Tenth, *Clement* the ſeventh, and *Paul* the third, who at laſt convokd an Oecumenical Free Council to be held at *Trent*, which was alſo kept at *Bolonia* ſome part of the time, and ther were ten *Seſsions* made in eighteen months. Then it ceaſd until the death of *Paul* the third, 1549. The Cardinal *John Maria de Monte* who had bin firſt Preſident of the Council under *Paul* 3. ſucceeded by the the name of *Julius* 3. who preſently made an *Indiction* of the Council again, which recommencd at *Trent Anno* 1550. and laſted alſo under this Pope above 18 months; during which time ther were ſix *Seſsions:* but being ſummond again by the ſame *Julius*, it ceaſd under *Marcellus* 2. who held the Pontificat but 22 days. Then it continued under *Paul* 4. *Anno* 1559. *Pius* 4. ſucceeding him, made a new Indiction of the Council again, which began 1561. under whom it laſted two years, during which time the nine laſt *Seſsions* were made: Inſomuch that the whole Council by intermiſſions laſted about eighteen yeers, from the year 1545. to 1563. but the Council ſate togeather in deliberation but five years, take all the Adjournments togeather.

Now, to underſtand the Right of the Precedences of Ambaſſadors, we muſt know that in the ſaid Council three kinds of Aſſemblies were made, *viz.* Congregations *General*, *Particular* Con-

Congregations, and *Seſsions*. In the particular Congregations the Doctors aſſiſted by ſome Biſhops examined Queſtions of *Faith* and Reformation, according to the diſtribution that was made them; and in this ther was no conſideration had of Precedence or Ceremony; They were Actions *intra privatos parietes*, within privat Walls.

In the General Congregation all the Prelats aſſembled, and the Legats preſided, who propoſed what ought to be treated in the particular Congregations: There the Theologians were heard, and Ambaſſadors of Princes had audience after their Commiſſions had been examined. In brief, all things were concluded there which were to be promulgated in the following *Seſsion*, and Ambaſſadors had their places there according to their Rank.

At laſt the *Seſsion* was the ſolemn day, at which after the Maſs of the Holy Spirit, and a Sermon preachd by ſome Prelat, or great Theologian, the Prelat Officiating, pronounced aloud the Decrees already reſolvd upon, which had been approvd by the Fathers by this Canonical word *Placet*. Now all Ambaſſadors had their ſeats of honor in thoſe *Seſsions*, and at *Maſs*; and this Honor appeerd by the places where they ſate, as alſo by the *Cenſer* and *Pax* which were given them to kiſs during the celebration of the *Maſs*.

In the Council held by *Paul* 3. and *Julius* 3. *Charles* the Fifth was Emperour, and without any the leaſt contradiction his Ambaſſadors preceded all others, though the *French* ſcarce appeerd there, and in the 16 firſt *Seſsions* ther was hardly any Prelat of *France*: ſo there was no diſpute of any precedence at all, the Emperour having the firſt rank; and ther was no occaſion at all for any Ambaſſador from the King of *Spain*, becauſe it was involvd then in the Empire: yet ther intervend ſome things which declard the Prerogatives of the King of *France*.

Firſt, in the Bull of indicting the Council by *Paul* 3. the King of *France* is namd expreſly after the Emperour, and all other Princes ſpoken of in general terms without any name, in theſe terms: *Chariſsimos in Chriſto Filios noſtros Carolum Romanorum Imperatorem ſemper Auguſtum; Et Chriſtianiſsimum Regem Franciſcum duo præcipua Chriſtiani Nominis firmamenta atq; fulchra orare atq; obſecrare inſtituimus.* Then a little after: *Supra autem dictos Imperatorem Regemq; Chriſtianiſsimum, nec non cæteros Reges, Duces, Principes quorum præſentia ſi alias uſquam, hoc quidem tempore maxime Sanctiſsimæ Chriſti Fidei, & Chriſtianorum omnium futura eſt ſalutaris, rogantes atq; obſecrantes per viſcera miſericordiæ Dei*, &c. We have appointed to deſire and pray our moſt dear Sons in Chriſt, *Charles* Emperour of the *Romans* always *Auguſt*, and *Francis* the moſt Chriſtian King, the two chiefeſt Supporters and Props

Props of Christianity, &c. So that ther is no other Prince particularly namd in the *Bull* but the *Emperour* and the *King* of *France*, the other Kings and Princes go under one general notion, which is a great advantage of Honour to the Kings of *France*.

Secondly, From the entry of the Council 1545. *Francis* the first of *France* had appointed for his Ambassadors *Claude d' Urfé* Seneschal of the *Forests*, *Jacques de Ligneres* President of the third Chamber of *Enquests*, and Dean *Peter Danes* afterwards Bishop of *Vaur*: but being advertisd by some Bishops which were at *Trent* how ther were but little hopes that the said Council was like to have good succes, he revokd the said Ambassadors who appeerd not at all in the Council. But *Anthony Filiolo* Archbishop of *Aix* being there, and demanding that in the publik Prayers which were made for all Christian Princes, the King of *France* shold be expresly nominated as he was in the *Bull* of *Indiction*: the Legats eluded this demand, insomuch that the *Pope* and the *Emperour* were only namd in the Prayers, and all other Princes conceavd in General terms.

In the yeer 1546. King *Francis* 1. sent *Peter Danes* Bishop of *Vaur* for his Ambassador to the Council, where making an eloquent Oration, he represented the sad state of Christendome, and the disorders which were crept into the Church, yea into the *Roman* Court: wherupon one Bishop laughd, saying, *Gallus cantat*, The Cock crows. *Danes* replied suddenly, *Utinam illo Gallocinio Petrus ad resipiscentiam & fletum excitetur*; I wold to God that by this crowing of the Cock *Peter* wold be raisd up to repentance and tears. And this saying was afterwards in evry ones mouth.

In the yeer 1547. *Paul* 3. in regard of the Plague and Wars then in *Germany*, transferrd the Council from *Trent* to *Bolonia*: but this he did, *Communicato etiam Consilio cum Imperatore, Christianissimo Rege, & aliis Regibus ac Principibus Christianis*, where the King of *France* is particularly namd.

In the yeer 1551. when *Julius* 3. had re-establishd the Council again at *Trent*, although *Hen.* 2. the King of *France* had entred into a hot War against Pope *Julius* for the Affairs of *Parma*, yet he employd *Jaques Amyot* Abbot of *Belosana*, and afterwards Bishop of *Auxerre* with a Letter bearing this Inscription, *Sanctissimis in Christo & observandis Patribus Tridentini Conventus*. Which Letter the said *Amyot* having delivered to Cardinal *Crescentius* President of the Council, and the Secretary having read the Inscription, the Spanish Bishops cryed out, That it was a wrong done to the Council to call it *Conventum*, a Convention, therfore protested against it. Nevertheles after long dispute upon the signification of the word *Conventus*, it was concluded that

that it might be taken in good part. The Elector of *Mentz* to apologize for *France*, ſtood up and ſaid, How ſhall we receave the Papers of the *German* Proteſtants which we call *Concilium Malignantium*, if we reject the King of *France's* Letter for calling us *Conventum*?

Hitherto *Charles* the Emperour being alſo King of *Spain*, ther was no Queſtion of Precedence: but at the third Indiction of the Council by *Pius* 4. *Anno* 1561. ther were divers claſhes happend twixt the *French* Ambaſſadors and thoſe of *Philip*, which engendred great jelouſies twixt the two Crowns, and high Conteſts which happend principally from the imprudence of *Pius* 4.

In his *Bull* of Indiction he uſed other terms then *Paul* 3. and *Julius* 3. did; for he names not the King of *France* as formerly, but involves him under the general notions of other Chriſtian Princes: Ther upon *Philibert de la Bourdeſiere* Biſhop of *Angouleme*, Ambaſſador for the King in the Popes Court, complaind of this omiſſion in the Kings name; yet with a proteſtation, that notwithſtanding this miſpriſion and prejudice to his Crown, he wold not hinder the continuance and progreſs of the Council whither he had commanded his Biſhops to repair. The Pope made anſwer, that he had given order to ſome Cardinals to draw the *Bull*, and it ſeems they had not been careful of this punctilio: for having namd the *Emperour*, they judgd it not ſo neceſſary to name all *Kings*, but to comprize them under one general notion: wherupon the French Ambaſſador replyed, That it was one of the Prerogatives of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty not to be involvd in generals, but in *expreſs* terms. The Pope rejoynd, That he could not foreſee all things, and for the future ther ſhold be a care had ther ſhold be no ſuch omiſſion.

In the yeer 1562. ther arrivd at *Trent*, *Lewis de Saint Gelais*, Lord of *Lanſac*; and three days after *Arnaud Ferrier*, and *Guy du Faur Pybrac*, Judge of *Tholouſe*, who were receavd very honorably by the *Council:* nay, a great part of the Prelats ſubject to the King of *Spain*, went out to meet them; but *Ferdinand de Avalos* Marquiſs of *Peſcara* and Ambaſſador to King *Philip*, departed from *Trent* three days before, and retird to *Milan*, wherof He was Governor, under pretext that ther were ſome apprehenſions of danger from the *Hugonots* of *Dauphine*, and from the *Swiſſe*; But in effect it was to avoid the meeting of the French Ambaſſadors who took place in the *General Congregation* next the Imperial. The Lord of *Pybrac* made a notable Oration, wherin ſpeaking againſt the enormities of the Church, the ſmall progreſs the *Council* had made in ſo long a time, and alſo for freedome of Opinions, it was not fit to ſtand waiting of things ſo long from *Rome:*

and being ſeconded by *Lanſac* and *Ferrier* upon the ſame ſubject, the *Pope* complaind therof, and ſpoke loud that the King of *France* had not ſent Ambaſſadors to the Council, but rather Advocats for the *Hugonots*, *&c.* The *French* Biſhops arrivd afterward at *Trent* in *November*, conducted by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who was receavd honorably by the *Cardinal* of *Mantua*, and other Legats; but hitherto the point of Precedence was not touchd.

A little after the Arrival of the *Cardinal* of *Lorrain*, and the *Gallican* Biſhops, *Philip* the ſecond having revokd the Marquiſs of *Peſcara*, employd to *Trent Ferdinand Quiniones Count of Luna* in quality of Ambaſſador, who having paſſd before to *Germany* to be aſſiſtant at the Coronation of *Maximilian* Son to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, the *Count of Luna* deſird to know of the Fathers of the *Council* what place he ſhold receave. Therupon the *Cardinal* of *Mantua* the chief Legat having conſulted the Ambaſſadors of *France*, and the *Cardinal* of *Lorain*, he propoſd unto them a form of Accommodation, That concerning *them* they ſhold hold their place next the Imperial Ambaſſadors, and another place ſhold be given the *Count of Luna* oppoſite to the *Legats* on the other ſide, or after the *Eccleſiaſtical* Ambaſſadors, or in ſome other part out of the bank of Ambaſſadors. Wherunto the *French* replyed, That they were employd by their King not to judge of Proceſſes, or decide the Rights of King *Philip*, who was a good Frend and Brother-in-law to *Charles* the ninth; But if any offerd to take that place which was due to *them*, they were reſolvd to defend it againſt any perſon whatſoever. And if the *Council* wold queſtion it, they had in their Inſtructions order to withdraw themſelfs with all the *French* Prelats, and to proteſt againſt the nullity of all reſolutions that ſhold be there tranſacted. To this the *Legat* made no reply. This Anſwer in apparance was fair and generous, but in effect it gave occaſion of affronts, which afterwards were done to the *French* at the *Council*, and tended to ſtrengthen the pretenſions of the *Spaniard*, which continue to this day. For the Right of the King of *France* is not only to be immediatly next the Emperour, but to ſee all other Kings come behind him: inſomuch that it was the *French* Ambaſſadors duty at that time to ſtand ſtill upon it, and oblige the *Count of Luna* to take his place after them; but to permit him to ſit elſwhere, was to cut out matter for a Proceſs: For although the *French* Ambaſſadors did hold their places, yet to ſuffer the *Count of Luna* to ſit apart, was tacitly to receave him into an *equality*: Inſomuch that as well in this firſt rancounter as afterwards when the diſpute happend in the General *Congregation*, the *Cardinal* of *Lorain* was blamd that he was not punctual enough in things relating to his Maſters Honor.

In

In the yeer 1563. the Legats apprehending ſome claſh twixt the *Spaniſh* and *French* Doctors in point of Precedence of delivering their Opinions, ordaind, that without diſtinction of Nation evry one ſhold ſpeak according to the antiquity of his Doctorſhip. And becauſe ther were ſome *French* Doctors that were more ancient then the *Spaniſh*, yet not permitted to ſpeak firſt, the Legats quickly ſatisfied them, ſaying, That the *Doctors* do not repreſent the Prince his perſon as Ambaſſadors uſe to do.

But to compoſe theſe differences which grew very high, the Doctors were divided to four Claſſes; and it was orderd that thoſe which were ſent from the Pope being *de Jure* to ſpeak firſt, the *French* Doctors ſhold ſpeak next; which was accorded by the Legats: Therfore it was voted that after *Salmeron* the Jeſuit, and the Popes *Theologue*, *Nicholas Maillart* Dean of the Faculty in *Paris*, ſhold ſpeak, and after that, evry one ſhold ſpeak according to his reception into the degree of Doctor, which was practiſd accordingly. But to content the *Spaniard*, it was couched in the Regiſter of the *Council*, that the French Doctor *Maillart* had ſpoken according to his antiquity into Doctorſhip, no relation being had to precedence of Nation.

In the ſame year 1563. on *Eaſter*-day the *Count of Luna* was receavd at *Trent*; at his entry he marchd between the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour and the King's of *France*. This action paſſd with much honor and civility twixt both Nations; and the ſame time the *Cardinal* of *Lorain* writ to the Emperour *Ferdinand*, who was then at *Inſbrug* in the *County* of *Tirol* three days diſtant from *Trent*, upon divers affairs of the *Council*, and at the end prayed him to find out ſome temperament for allaying the diſpute of Precedence twixt the two Crowns. But this clauſe of the *Cardinal* to the Emperour was blamd by divers, for he ſhold not have deſird a temperament in the buſineſs, but demanded Right. The Emperour made anſwer, That it did not concern him to determine the Differences twixt the two Kings in this particular; But to ſpeak his ſentiment herin, He thought that if the *French* Ambaſſadors come immediatly after *His*, and that none diſturbs them, what matter is it where the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors ſit? But theſe words were held to be of dangerous conſequence: For in point of Precedence, whoſoever quits his place is preſumed to ſcorn it, and ſeek after a higher; which cannot be done without a prejudice to them who ſate higher before.

Upon the 21 of *May*, at the General Congregation, the intention of the *Spaniards* appeerd more cleer: The Count of *Luna* after the foreſaid ſolemn *Entry* abſconded himſelf for 40 days, without appeering openly in any *Ceremony* or publik *Act*; and ſo being

being puzzled what cours to take in this busines, Somtimes he resolvd to enter the Assembly in the midst of the Emperours Ambassadors, and after they were sate to stand by them while his Commission was verified, and then retire to his House. But thinking this cours not generous enough for his Masters honor, He prayed the *French* Ambassadors not to be there that day; which being denied him, the *Spanish* Bishops propos'd that *Secular* Ambassadors shold be prayed not to enter into the General Congregations, but only the day of their *Reception*, and that They wold be contented to assist the Ceremony at the *Session* only; alledging, that it was practis'd so in other General Councils. But all the Ambassadors did mainly oppose this.

Then it was privatly suggested to the *Spanish* Bishops by the Count of *Luna*, that they shold propose some point that might make the *French* Ambassadors *Parties*, and so not capable to sit in the Assembly. As for example, they shold represent the Domages which the whole Church hath receivd by the peace which the King of *France* had made with the *Hugonots*, or some such other thing. But that also taking no effect, and the *Congregation* being put to delays from day to day by the obstinacy of the Count of *Luna*, at last that the Affairs of the Council shold not be retarded, the Cardinal of *Lorain* and the *French* Ambassadors declard to the *Legats*, that, provided their place shold remain immediatly after the Imperial Ambassadors, they did not much heed what place the Ambassadors of *Spain* shold take.

This weakness of the Cardinal, and of the *French* Ambassadors, did scandalize all *Christendome*; and in *France* they blamd Him to have betrayed the Honor of their *Master*; Nay, the Fathers of the *Council* took it in ill part, and at *Rome* the Cardinal *de Bourdesiere* who was with the *Pope* for the *King*, having complaind of this *Spanish Ambition*, and of this *Innovation* introducd against the Ancient Orders, Pope *Pius* made answer, That he shold blame the *French* Ambassadors, and their imbecility; For his part, although he had bin sollicited before and after the Count of *Luna*'s arrival at *Trent*, that he shold favor this desiein, yet He remaind constant and inflexible; and He wonderd that the *French* Ambassadors were wrought upon so easily.

The great day of the Congregation being come, and evry Ambassador having taken his place, the Count of *Luna* enters, and seats himself face to face to the *Legats*, a good distance from the bank of the Ambassadors; and standing up, he presents his Orders, and the Will of his Master; protesting afterwards, that although the first place was due to him after the Emperours Ambassador, as representing the greatest Prince of *Christendom*, the greatest Pillar of the Church, *&c.* yet not to introduce any confusion in the affairs of the *Council*, he deported himself from this

this Right; yet with condition that this his *Proteſtation* ſhold be inſerted in the Acts of the *Council*, and that they ſhold not be printed or publiſhd without it; beſides, that a Copy ſhold be delivered Him by the Secretary of the *Council*. When he had ſaid theſe words, he took the place which was appointed Him neer the Table of the Secretary of the *Council*. Therupon the *French* Ambaſſadors who were next the Imperials, ſaid, That if the place which they had were not the moſt Honorable after the *Emperours*, as it was acknowledgd in all *Councils*, and namely in the Council of *Conſtance*, and in the laſt *Lateran* Council held under *Leo* the tenth; Or if the place they had given the Count of *Luna* was any way prejudicial to them, they prayed the *Council* to provide preſently either by Orders, Commandments, Excommunications, or other courſes taken in ſuch a caſe, without having any regard to the perſon; But becauſe no body ſpake a word, and that alſo the *Imperial* Ambaſſadors connivd at this *Innovation*, although they had equal intereſt to hinder it as well as the *French* becauſe it might be diſputed on againſt them, they added, that without any blemiſh to the Honor of King *Philip*, and to the alliance of the two Crowns, they proteſted for a nullity of theſe Proceedings, and requird that their *Proteſtation* might alſo be inſerted in the Acts of the Council, and a Copy deliverd them. After theſe Diſputes, the Fathers of the Council not ſaying any thing, *Fontidon* a Spaniſh Doctor made a *Latin* Oration in the name of the Count of *Luna*, wherin he exalted the Grandeur of the King of *Spain*, His Zeal to Religion, and the *Church* in ſuch extravagant expreſſions, and ſo derogatory to other Princes, that the Imperial Ambaſſadors themſelfs made complaint therof to the *Count* of *Luna*, who excuſd himſelf, ſaying, That that *Harang* had diſpleaſd Him as much as any other. Now, the *Promoter* of the *Council* having made anſwer to the ſaid Oration, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador ſuddenly went from the Aſſembly, (not ſtaying until the Legats had riſen up) it ſeems of purpoſe to prevent a Diſpute that might happen with the *French*, which He obſervd alſo in the following *Congregations*, ſitting always apart, and going out alone.

But the ſame Order could not be obſervd in the *Church* upon the day of the *Seſsion*, becauſe the mode of ſitting was otherwiſe, and the Ceremonies were more preciſe in point of Precedencie, as that of the *Pax* and *Cenſer* at the celebration of Maſſe. Therfore the *Fathers* of the *Council* conſulted the *Pope* before the *Seſsion*, who being gaind by the *Spaniards*, and thinking alſo that the *French* wold ſhew another trick of weakneſs, He writ to his *Legats*, That although in the *Seſsion* a place was given apart to the *Spaniſh*, yet that the *Pax* and *Cenſer* ſhold be given to both the Ambaſſadors at one time: But they were commanded to

keep the buſineſs ſecret until the very point of the action, to prevent that the *French* ſhold make no ſtir.

The day of the *Seſsion* being come, which was 29 *June*, being St. *Peters* day, after that the Biſhop of *Valdaſto* in *Savoy* had begun to ſing the Maſs of the *Holy Spirit*, ther was ſuddenly a chair of Black Velvet brought from the *Sacriſtia* or Veſtry, which was plac'd twixt the laſt Cardinal and the firſt Patriark, wherin the Count of *Luna* ſate; The Cardinal of *Lorain*, together with the *French* Ambaſſadors, made a great noiſe, and did riſe up with an intention to depart, when they underſtood that the *Pax* with the *Cenſer* ſhold be preſented at the ſame time: But for fear to trouble the ſolemnity of the act, they were contented to proteſt only againſt it, and to declare that the *Right* of the King of *France* did not conſiſt in an *Equality*, but in *Precedence*. The Goſpel being read, and a Theologue going up to the chair to make an Oration, the *Legats*, with the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and the other Cardinals, with the Ambaſſador of the Emperour, and *Ferrier* the ſecond *French* Ambaſſador, (for *Lanſac* was returned to *France*, and had left behind him *Ferrier* and *Pybrack*) I ſay, all theſe enterd into the *Sextry*, whither they calld the Archbiſhop of *Granada*, (a *Spaniard*) to find out ſome way of Accommodation: at laſt, after many diſputes and conteſtations on both ſides, with many entrances and returns of the Count of *Luna*, it was concluded that Maſs ſhold be ended with the *Pax* or *Cenſer*; wherupon *Luna* went out of the Church accompanied by his *Spaniards*, triumphing as it were that he had made this firſt paſs for the advantage and honor of his Maſter.

This action ſeemd very ſcandalous, and the *Legats* were much cryed down, until at laſt being not able to bear the outcry, they were conſtrained to produce the Commands they had receavd from *Rome*: and the Injury was held the more ſenſible, becauſe it was offerd to an Infant and Pupil *King* as *Charles* the ninth was, who was at the ſame time aſſiegd by the *Hugonots*, and entangled in a Civil War; The Cardinal of *Lorain* did write ſtinging Letters to the *Pope*, yet all within the compaſs of Reverence: But *Ferrier* being a ſpritful and violent man, cryed aloud, That if at the firſt publick *Maſſe* the *preference* of the *Pax* and *Cenſer* was not given to his Maſter, He wold *proteſt* not only againſt the *Legats* and the *Council*, who had their hands as it were tied up, nor againſt King *Philip* who made uſe of theſe advantages, nor againſt the Church of *Rome*, (towards which he wold never looſe due reſpects) but againſt the proper perſon of the *Pope* himſelf, who, as he wold prove, had *bought* the *Pontificat*, and ſo wold appeal from Him to a *Legal* Pope, and to a free and tru *Council*; And if the moſt Chriſtian King his Maſter wold convoke a *National Council*, it ſhold be as numerous and general as that of *Trent*.

It

It is very tru that *Ferrier* and *Pybrak* had prepard a moſt *acrimonious Harang* againſt the Pope, and againſt this *Innovation* which *Ferrier* was to pronounce, and to command at the ſame time all the *French* Biſhops and Doctors to retire home, with a promiſe they ſhold return when God ſhold pleaſe to give his Church a *Legal Pope*, and re-eſtabliſh the *Councils* in their ancient and full Liberties.

This *Harang* was printed, but not pronounced: in the mean time the Count of *Luna* did glory that the *Legats* had promiſd Him that at the firſt Maſſe he ſhold be receavd in an *Equality* touching the *Pax* and the *Cenſer*.

The *Legats* apprehending ſome ilfavourd iſſue from theſe rancounters, and becauſe the Ambaſſador of *Poland* declard that if the Ambaſſador of *France* wold withdraw himſelf from the obedience of the Council he wold quickly follow him, as the Ambaſſadors of divers other Princes wold do; The *Legats*, and the moſt adviſed Members of the Council, ſpecially *Madruccio* Cardinal of *Trent* in behalf of the *Emperour*, thought it expedient to ſing publick Maſſe without giving the *Pax* or the *Cenſer*; wherunto they had the conſent of the Count of *Luna*.

This is the cours which was taken to offer ſo ſignal an affront to the King of *France*, wherof ſo much hath been ſpoken, and which hindred the good that was expected in *France* from this great *Council*. A little after, the *Cardinal* of *Lorain* retird to *Rome*, and *Ferrier* declaimd loudly in one General *Congregation* againſt the enormities and diſorders which had crept into the *Church*, *&c*.

The Pope took this much to heart, and for to ſweeten the buſineſs, he ſent the *Cardinal* of *Lorain* back again to the *Council* with full authority to regulat, together with the *Legats*, what was amiſs in the Proceedings of the *Council*. He aſſiſted at the twenty fourth *Seſſion* held the 11 of *Novemb.* 1563. the day of the Sacrament of *Marriage*, and having receavd order from *France* to retire ſpeedily with all the *French* Biſhops, the Legats haſtned the concluſion of the *Council*, and inorderd that the *five and twentieth* and laſt *Seſſion* ſhold be held the third and fourth day of *December*, wherin as before, the *French* Ambaſſadors took place, and the Count of *Luna* ſate neer the *Secretary* of the *Council*; and in the publick Maſſes ther was no ſpeech either of the *Pax* or *Cenſer*.

So the *Council* of *Trent* finiſhd the 4 of *December* 1563. and Cardinal *Moron* who was then *Preſident* gave the publik *Benediction* to the *Fathers*, ſaying, *Poſt gratias Deo actas reverendiſsimi Patres Ite in pace*: Moſt reverend Fathers, after giving God thanks go in peace: wherunto all anſwerd, *Amen*.

But becauſe the cuſtome is, that at the end of evry *General Council*

Council acclamations ſhold be made to *felicitat* the *Popes* who had convoqud it, the *Fathers* who had held it, and the *Princes* who had aſſiſted, the Cardinal of *Lorain* took a particular care this ſhold be performd, for which he was cenſurd as a care too inferior to his *Eminence*, which he ſhold have left to the *Deacons*, *Promoters*, *Secretaries*, and *Maſters of the Ceremonies* of the *Council*. But above all he was blamd that in the Acclamation made for the *Secular* Princes, he cauſd not the name of the King of *France* to be particularly mentiond, as it was obſervd in the *Bull* of *Indiction*; and for omiſſion wherof, complaint was made that *Pius* the fourth did it not, wherof the *Cardinal* could not be ignorant.

Now, the Acclamation that was made in favor of the *Secular* Princes, (wherin the name of the King of *France* was omitted) ran thus: The Cardinal ſaid aloud, *Caroli quinti Imperatoris, & ſereniſsimorum Regum qui hoc univerſale Concilium promoverunt, & protexerunt, Memoria in Benediction ſit*; Let the memory of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and of the moſt ſerene Kings who have promoted this univerſal Council, be always Bleſſed. Then, *Sereniſsimo Imperatori Ferdinando ſemper Auguſto, Orthodoxo, & Pacifico, & omnibus Regibus, Reipublicis, & principibus noſtris multi anni:* Many years to the moſt ſerene Emperour *Ferdinand* ever Auguſt, Orthodoxal, and Peaceful; and to all our Kings, Commonwealths, and Princes. Then the Fathers anſwerd, *Pium & Chriſtianum Imperatorem Domine conſerva, Imperator Cæleſtis Terrenos Reges Rectæ Fidei conſervatores cuſtodi:* O Lord, conſerve the Pious and Chriſtian Emperour; O Cœleſtial Emperour defend Earthly Kings, Conſervers of the Right Faith.

The firſt Acclamation was for the Dead, wherin the Cardinal forgot to expreſs the name of *Francis* the 1. and *Hen.* 2. who had contributed their care and zeal for the good of the *Council*. The ſecond was for *living* Princes, wherin he alſo omitted the name of *Charles* 9. for which the ſaid Cardinal was blamd at the King of *France* his *Council*. He excuſd himſelf that it was for the fear he had to put diviſion between the two Kings; and withal, that *Charles* of *France* being yet a *minor*, he was like to be troubled about matters of Religion in regard of the *Hugonots*, and might have need of King *Philip*, therfore it was no wiſdom to exaſperat Him.

Thus have you a kinde of Epitome of the great *Council* of *Trent*, ſpecially of the celebrous Conteſts, Intrigues, Competitions and Artifices twixt *France* and *Spain* in point of Prerogative of Place, and Priority of Seſſion.

The next Conteſt was at the Congreſs of Ambaſſadors in

Pervins,

Vervins, 1598. (touchd at before) where the *French* Ambaſſadors receivd an Accommodation by the moderation of the Cardinal of *Medici*. The manner of this Accommodation was thus: The Cardinal *Legat* being under a Cloth of State at the end of the Table where the Treaty was to be held, had upon his *Right*-hand the *Nuntio*, and next *Him* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors; upon his *Left*-hand the *Legat* had the *French* Ambaſſadors, and in that poſture they proceeded to negotiat and Treat without any exception or animoſities; wherby the Buſineſs produced peaceful and bleſſed effects, wherof all *Chriſtendome* did reap very wholſome fruit.

After this, ther happend a tough competition upon the ſame account of *Precedence* in the Court of *Rome*; and when the *Spaniard* could not prevail there, He went to the Emperours Court *Maximilian* the ſecond his neer Kinſman, wher his Ambaſſadors had the Prerogative of Place before the Ambaſſadors of *Charles* the ninth King of *France*: wherupon *Gaſpar Coligni* proteſted loudly againſt this apparent injury, and that it was a ſufficient cauſe to denounce War. But *Mendoſa* the *Spaniſh Ambaſſador* being much preſſd hereabouts, and reduced to a narrow ſtreight, found out at laſt this witty evaſion, ſaying, *Se nolle quidem anteire, tamen cogi non poſſe ut Francorum Legatos ſequeretur*: If He did not go before, yet He could not be forcd to *follow* the *French* Ambaſſador.

Beſoldus (with others who are great Advocats for the *Spaniſh* Precedence) beat their Brains to find out arguments to that effect: amongſt which, the greateſt is, the multitude of Dominions that have accrued to the *Spaniard*: whence they deduce this Principle, *Ex facto ſumitur Jus*, Right is to be taken out of the *Fact*; and the Fact being changd, the Right alſo changeth. Therfore the Fact and circumſtances of things being changd on the *Spaniards* ſide, and reſpect had to his encreaſe of Territories, and preſent condition, it may well alter the former cuſtome of giving precedence to *France*.

Then he takes the Cudgels againſt *England* in behalf of *Spain*, notwithſtanding that he acknowledgeth out of *Meteranus* that the *Engliſh* are the moſt *ancient Chriſtians*, and that *Germany* his own Country owes her *Religion* firſt to *Them*; That the Kings of *England* are deſcended of the *Nobleſt Families* of any, which makes him inſtance in King *Cunobelinus*, whoſe Coyn is to be ſeen to this day, who raignd in *Great Britain* about our Saviours Nativity. He alledgeth further how the King of *England* is feodary or ſubordinat to no earthly Power, but is *Gods immediat Vicar* in his own Dominions: yet he concludes ſimply and irrationally in theſe words; *Verùm & Angli nimis antiquis argumentis pugnant, & præſenti Majeſtati Hiſpaniæ æquiparandi minimè eſſe videntur*: The

Engliſh fight with too ancient arguments, and *ſeem* not to be compard to the preſent Majeſty of *Spain*. He ſpeaks alſo as *ſimply*, and indeed not without ſome abſurdity, when after thoſe uncontroulable arguments, he ſaith, *Sed porro abſonum eſt quod Anglus Hiſpano Seſsionis litem movet*; It is a ſenſeleſs thing that the Engliſh ſhold move any debate with the *Spaniard* for privilege of *Seſsion*.

And another great Champion for the *Precedence* of *Spain*, *viz.* *Diego Valdez*, diſcourſeth as weakly; for notwithſtanding that he acknowledgeth *Lucius* to be a *Chriſtian* King of *England* in the time of Pope *Eleutherius*, (which was many hundred years before ther was any in *Spain*) & that he confeſſeth that *Summa Ratio eſt quæ ducitur à Religione*, yet he wold not have *England* compare with *Spain* in point of *Precedence*: wherby he diſcovers not only a great deal of injuſtice and partiality, but alſo a groſs Ignorance in Antiquity, by calling *Lucius* King of *England*, wheras this Country had not that *Name* till the *Saxons* came in, which was above three hundred years after: For till then twas calld *Britannia* by all Forreners, and *Loegria* or *Lloygher* by the native Inhabitants; which name continues among the *Welch* to this day. Nor is this *His Error* alone, but of many other great *Antiquaries*, and ſome of our own *Authors*, who having no due regard to the computation of time, do very frequently call this Country *England* many hundred of years before the word was created.

Thus have we produced and faithfully alledgd the principal Arguments that *France* hath for a *Precedence*: We will conclude with two late Paſſages which happend in this kind; One was in the *Hague* twixt *Monſieur de Thou*, and *Don Eſtevan de Gamarra* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; whoſe Coaches meeting caſually in a place where ther were two Rails, ther happend a ſcuffle for Precedence; but a band of Soldiers came and kept them quiet till notice was ſent to the *Council of State*; who ſitting three or four hours about it, at laſt they gave command that the Rails ſhold be cut down; and ſo the way being left open, the ſcuffle ended.

The ſecond was in *London* twixt *Monſieur l' Eſtrade* and the *Baron de Batteville*, both of them *Ambaſſadors* at the *Engliſh* Court, the latter for the King of *Spain*, the other for *France*; A new *Daniſh* Ambaſſador was to make his Entry through *London*; and HisMajeſty of *Great Britain* having intimation that ther might be ſome claſh between the Coaches of the foreſaid Ambaſſadors if they ſent them according to cuſtome to bring in the ſaid new Ambaſſador, He ſent unto them that they wold forbear to ſend their Coaches becauſe ſome inconvenience might ariſe: *Batte-*

ville

ville anſwerd, That he wold conform to his Majeſties pleſure, provided *l' Eſtrade* did likewiſe do ſo: But *l' Eſtrade* gave anſwer to the Kings Meſſage, That his Predeceſſor the *French* Ambaſſador immediatly before him had receavd a check at his return to *France* for omitting this ceremony, and ſo was he like to do if he did not perform it. So both of them ſending their rich Coaches and Laquays to *Tower-wharf* where the new Ambaſſador was to land, *Batteville* it ſeems had taken ſuch a ſurvey of the place, that his Coach ſtood in ſuch a poſture that none could get before it and the Kings Coach: beſides, he had cauſd the Rains and Harneſs of his Coach to be lin'd with *Wire*, making them therby poof againſt the ſtrokes of Swords: ſo ther happend a hot and fierce Scirmige, ther being Piſtols on both ſides beſides Swords, and the *French* had ſome horſmen alſo; ſo the poor Horſes were ſlaſhd, and ſome Laquays killd on both ſides, and one *Spaniſh* Gentleman was killd in the Coach: but *Batteville* ſtood firm to his ground, and ſo his Coach went next to the Kings all the way. News being ſent herof to *Paris*, it was much reſented, and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador there being confind to his Houſe, he preſently diſpatchd an *Expreſſe* to *Madrid*; who being returnd, He ſent to the *Louvre* that he had receavd ſuch Orders that wold give his Majeſty ſatisfaction touching the late Traverſes in *England*, and ſo deſired Audience, which was appointed him the next day: In the interim command was ſent that the Princes of the Blood and chief Officers of the Crown ſhold be there. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador being come, and expecting a *privat* audience, but finding ſuch a ſolemn meeting, was a little ſtunnd at firſt; yet he went on, and deliverd his Meſſage to the King: which was, that touching the late Conteſt in *England*, it was done without his *Catholique* Majeſties direction and knowledge, therfore he wold take a cours that no occaſion ſhold be offerd for ſuch differences heraſter. Beſides theſe, he pronounc'd other Explanatory words that were equivalent to an acknowledgment of *Precedence* to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, which were ſuddenly commanded to be regiſtred in the Council for an Act of State, and ſo to ſtand upon Record to Poſterity.

Hereupon ther was a moſt prudent *Act* of State paſſd in the Privy Council of the King of *Great Britain*, That in regard of the inconvenience and diſturbances which did thence ariſe, his Majeſty commanded that no *Forren* Ambaſſadors Coaches ſhall for the future go to accompany and introduce any new Ambaſſador whatſoever, becauſe his Majeſties Coaches are ſufficient to accompany them in a fitting Equippage: which *Act* I believe will be a leading caſe to all the Courts of *Chriſtendome*.

Before

Before we conclude this *Section* touching the Right of *Precedence* which the *French* King claims of other Princes, we will adde what Mr. *de Breves* ſays in his *Appendix* of the Negotiations in the *Eaſt*, where he ſays, That in the Raign of *Henry* the Great he took Precedence of the Ambaſſadors of *Rodulphus* the Emperour in *Conſtantinople* at the *Port* of the *Turks* Court, who values *Chriſtian* Princes according to the merit of their *Might*.

WE will now proceed to weigh and winnow the Arguments of *Spain* in order to a Precedence, which we will extract alſo, and diſtil out of their own Authors, as *Valdeſius*, *Franciſco Vaſquez*, *Camillo Borrello*, *Beſoldus*, *Morales*, *Auguſto Cavaiſll*, *Caranato*, with divers others.

And let this be a Cloſe to the ſecond Section.

THE

The third Section,

CONTAINING

The Reaſons wherby the King of *Spain* pretends, and claims Priority of Place, and Proximity of Seſſion next the *Emperour* at all ſolemn Meetings, and in all Publik Tranſactions of State, *&c.*

Which Reaſons

We will reduce alſo to Ten Heads or Arguments;

The firſt Argument,

Proving, That the Catholik King may challenge Precedence, becauſe *Spain* is the Nobleſt Kingdome of *Europe*, as being always accounted the *Head* therof.

The ſecond Argument,

Proving, That the King of *Spain* may challenge Precedence by the Authority of General Councils, and the Learned Doctors of the Church.

The third Argument,

Proving, That the King of *Spain* may challenge *Precedence*, becauſe *Spain* firſt receavd and profeſſd the Catholik *Faith*; That the firſt Chriſtian Church was built there; The firſt *Council* celebrated; The firſt *Biſhop* was elected out of Her, The firſt Emperour created, *&c.*

The fourth Argument,

Proving, That the King of *Spain* may challenge Precedence, becauſe He is the *Catholick* King, which is a more ancient Title then *Chriſtianiſſimus.*

The fifth Argument,

Proving, That the King of *Spain* may challenge *Precedence* becauſe that in magnitude of Kingdomes, in Power and Treſure he excels all other.

The ſixth Argument,

Proving, That the King of *Spain* may challenge *Precedence* for Nobleneſs of *Family*, and that the Kingdome of *France* did juſtly belong to *Philip* 3.

The ſeventh Argument,

Proving, That the King of *Spain* may challenge *Precedence* becauſe he is King of *Jeruſalem*.

The eighth Argument,

Proving, That the King of *Spain* may challenge *Precedence* becauſe of free and abſolut Dominion, and that he hath *Empires* under Him.

The ninth Argument,

Proving, That the King of *Spain* may challenge Precedence becauſe he hath done ſuch great Offices to the Chriſtian Church.

The tenth and laſt Argument,

Proving, That the King of *Spain* may challenge *Precedence* becauſe the Catholick Church receaves greater Protection and Emoluments from *Him* then from any other Prince whatſoever.

OF all theſe Arguments we ſhall treat diſtinctly in ſeveral diviſions according to the former method, and *diſtil* out of the chiefeſt *Spaniſh* Authors that write of this ſubject, the *Elixir* and ſtrength of their Reaſons. But let the Reader take this Advertiſement, That he muſt not expect here the particular *Quotations* and Marginals wherwith the *Spaniſh* Writers uſe to abound, and which indeed belong to Civilians and *Juriſts*: No, the Author here goes on in a freer and generous way, and the Reader without abuſing his Faith may believe what he delivers, being extracted with much fidelity, and care out of the *forementiond Authors* who write for the Crown of *Spain*, and in their own expreſſions; and ſo we begin with the firſt Argument, *viz.* That *Spain* is calld the *Head* of *Europe*, and conſequently the Nobleſt Kingdome.

I.

THe beginning of evry thing as it is the hardeſt, ſo it is always accounted the worthieſt and moſt Noble part, as being the head and ſource whence the reſt are derivd: ſo our bleſſed Saviour is calld *Principium & Caput*, the beginning and Head wherof all the Faithful are Members: He is ἀρχὴ as well as Ὠμέγα; And his Vicar-general upon earth (the Pope) is calld *Caput Eccleſiæ Militantis*, The Head of the Militant Church. For in the Head, as Philoſophers teach us, Nature ſhews her chiefeſt skill in the architecture and compoſition of Man (the *Microcoſm*) in regard that in the *Head* all the Senſes are placd; The Eyes which are the Caſements of the *Soul* are there; The Toung which is her chief Interpreter moves there; Nay, all her Faculties, as the *Will*, the *Memory*, and the *Intellect*, by which we are diſtinguiſhed from Beaſts, have their dwelling there as in a Capitol: Therfore, as *Caſſanæus* ſaith, He is a Monſter of a Man who wold compare the *Body* with the *Head*. Now, by conſent of all, if the Head be the predominant part of the Body, ſurely He who governs the Head muſt be more excellent then He who governs the Body; As the City of *Rome* being the *Capital* City of the Chriſtian Empire, the *Pope* being Biſhop of *Rome*, is acknowledgd the Metropolitan and chiefeſt among the reſt, becauſe he hath the excellentſt City and Dioceſs.

Now an Argument for *Precedence* drawn *A Nobilitate Regni*, carries much ſtrength and reaſon with it: Therfore if the King of *Spain* be He who governs the Head of *Europe*, it follows that He may be calld the chiefeſt King. Now, to prove that *Spain* is ſo, we will produce theſe proofs; Firſt, the Authority of *Pliny*, who ſaith thus: *Terrarum Orbis Univerſi in tres dividitur partes, Europam, Aſiam, Africam, Origo ab Occaſu Solis, & Gaditano Freto, quò irrumpens Oceanus Atlanticus in Maria Interiora diffunditur:* The Globe of the earth is divided into three parts, *Europe*, *Aſia* and *Afrik*, the Head is from the ſetting of the Sun, and the *Gaditan Frete*, which Navigators commonly call *The Streights mouth*, where the Atlantick Ocean breaking into the inner Seas diffuſeth it ſelf. Whence it appeers, that the beginning of *Europe* is placed in the *Gaditan ſtreight*. *Strabo* likewiſe in his Coſmography, and others of the moſt ancient and beſt Geographers concur herin, among whom *Nicephorus* ſaith, *In Hiſpania ſedes fixerunt quæ prima ab Heſpero Regio eſt*; And *Lucius Marinæus Siculus*, ſpeaking of the ſituation of *Spain*, begins thus: *Hiſpania ſicuti Plinius aliiq; Scriptores tradiderunt, Regio prima in Solis occaſu Europæ terminos claudit. Abraham Ortelius* alſo in his Theatre of the World, and *Caſſanæus* confeſs all this; and while they compare

compare *Europe* to a *Virgin*, *Spain* is placed in the *head* of her by the Geography of *Joannes Encyſus*; And it may be provd by two Reaſons that *Spain* is the Head, Firſt, that ſince the Terreſtrial Orb is begirt with the Sea on all ſides, the Sea cannot diffuſe it ſelf to viſit other *Regions* but by the Regions of *Spain*, where the *Gaditan* Streight is as it were a Fountain, beginning and origine; where ther is a gate open, and whence as it were from a Head it derives it ſelf through *Europe*, flowing one way into the *Mediterranean*, and on the other ſide into the Ocean, and ſo protends it ſelf to *Aſia* and *Afrik*; inſomuch that from this Head the other members proceed, and from this Spring other Seas flow out like Rivers, as *Pliny* commemorates in another place.

Secondly, it make infinitly for the King of *Spain*, that he doth *Lord* over the New World where *Aſia*, *Afrik*, *Europe*, and divers parts of the Eaſt, Weſt, North and South do converſe, and where *Spain* commands as Queen and *Head*, and reduceth dayly other Regions to the Catholik Faith as Members of that Head.

It being thus provd that *Spain* is the *Head* of *Europe*, it remains to prove that it is the Nobleſt Region, and that it is a Kingdom then which the Sun doth not behold a more large and floriſhing; for whatſoever hath Nobleneſs, Wit or Splendor in it, ſhe hath. Ther is not any thing that can be expected from Nature, Vertue and Fortune, but *Spain* hath it abundantly; ſhe hath ſubdued moſt Noble Peeple, moſt Reſolut Spirits, moſt Warlike Nations by Wiſdome as well as by Arms: Therſore *Spain* is to have Precedence after *Italy* of all other *European* Regions. Hear what *Juſtine* ſpeaks of her: *Hiſpania neq; ut Africa violento ſole torretur, neq; ut Gallia aſſiduis ventis fatigatur, ſed media inter utraſq; hinc temperato calore, inde felicibus, & tempeſtivis imbribus in omnia frugum genera fœcunda eſt, adeo ut non ipſius tantum Incolis, verum etiam Italiæ, urbiq; Romanæ cunctarum Rerum abundantia ſufficat: Spain* is neither roaſted by a violent Sun as *Afrik* is, nor is ſhe troubled with continual Winds as *France* is, but in a middle temper twixt both ſhe enjoys a moderat heat with happy and ſeaſonable ſhowres towards the production of all kind of fruit, in ſuch plenty that ſhe hath not only ſufficient to ſerve her own peeple, but ſhe commonly furniſheth *Italy* and the City of *Rome* with her ſuperfluities.

What ſhall I ſpeak of the amœnity of the Soile, of the ſalubrity of Air, of her excellent Metals, of her exquiſit VVoolls, of her incomparable Iron and Steel, of her rare VVines, of her Silks, of her Riches and Treſure! VVhat ſhall I ſay of the Fidelity and Fortitude, of the Temperance and Sobriety, of the Devotion and Sanctimony, of the Religion and Piety, of the Abſtinence

Abſtinence and Sobriety, of the admired Patience and Conſtancy of her Inhabitants! Nor doth ſhe ſupply other Nations with her exceſs of divers Commodities, but ſhe furniſheth them with Emperours and Generals. We may read in the *Maccabees* that one of the Arguments which the Roman Captains uſd, to terrifie the *Jews*, was, how that they had ſubjugated many parts of *Spain*.

Hear what the famous Poet *Claudian* ſings of Her in this Rapture:

Quod dignum memorare tuis Hiſpania Terris
Vox Humana valet? primo lavat æquore Solem
India; Tu feſſos exacta luce jugales
Proluis, inq; tuo reſpirant ſydera fluctu;
Dives equis, frugum facilis, pretioſa metallis,
Principibus fœcunda piis; Tibi ſæcula debent
Trajanum; ſeries his fontibus Ælia fluxit,
Hinc ſenior pater, hinc Juvenum Diadèmata Fratrum;
Namq; Aliæ Gentes quas fœdere Roma recepit,
Aut Armis domuit, varios aptantur in uſus
Imperii; Phariæ ſegetes, & Punica Meſſis
Caſtrorum devota cibo, dat Gallia robur
Militis, Illyricis ſudant Equitatibus alæ;
Sola novum Latiis veſtigal Iberia Rebus
Contulit Auguſtos, fruges, æraria, miles
Undiq; conveniunt, totoq; ex Orbe leguntur.
Hæc generat quæ cuncta regit, nec laude Virorum
Cenſeri contenta fuit, niſi Matribus æquè
Vinceret, & gemino certatim ſplendida ſexu
Placillam, Mariamq; daret, pulchramq; Serenam.

And wheras innumerable things do offer to be ſpoken to the glory of *Spain*, wherof both Poets and Proſe-Authors are full, I will make choice here of that eloquent Character which *Pacatus Latinus* gives of her in his famous *Panegyrik* to *Theodoſius* the Emperour. *Nam primùm tibi Patria eſt Hiſpania Terra omnibus Terris fœlicior, cui excolendæ, atq; adeo ditandæ impenſius quam cæteris gentibus ſupremus Ille Rerum Fabricator indulſit; Quæ nec Auſtrinis obnoxia æſtibus, nec Arctois ſubjecta frigoribus, mediâ fovetur Axis utriuſq; temperie. Quæ hinc Pyreneis montibus, Illinc Oceani æſtibus, inde Tyrrheni Maris littoribus coronatæ Natura ſolertis ingenio velut alter Orbis includitur; Adde tot egregias Civitates, adde culta inculta; vel fructibus plena, vel gregibus. Adde auriferorum opes fluminum, adde radiantium Metalla gemmarum. Scio fabulas Poetarum auribus mulcendis repertas aliquando nonnullis gentibus attribuiſſe Miracula, quæ dum ſint vera, ſunt ſingula, nec jam excutio veritatem,*

&c. In the firſt place thy Country is *Spain*, a Land happier then all Lands, which for Agriculture and Riches, the ſupreme Fabricator of all things hath indulgd more favorably then other Nations; for it is not obnoxious to Southern Heat, nor ſubject to Northern Cold, but is cheriſhd with a middle temper of both the Poles. This ſide *Spain* is crownd with the Pyrenean Hills, on that ſide with the Breezes of the Ocean, then with the ſhores of the *Mediterranean Sea*, being fencd by the induſtrious hand of Nature, as if ſhe were another world. Adde herunto ſo many gallant Cities, Adde cultivated and incultivated places, all either full of Fruit or Cattle; Adde the Wealth of the Gold-bearing Rivers, Adde Mines of ſhining Metals, *&c.*

The Renown of the *Spaniſh* Nation was before that of the *Romans*; for the fame of their Valour did ring among the *Greeks* in the VVars of *Peloponneſus*; and *Alcibiades* in an Oration that *Thucydides* mentions of his, calls them *Fortiſsimos & Pugnaciſsimos omnium Barbarorum*, The Valiantſt and VVarlikſt of all the *Barbarians*, as the *Greeks* termd then all other Nations beſides themſelfs, which the *Romans* did afterwards. *Annæus Florus* calls *Spain Bellatricem*, *Viris Armiſq;* *Nobilem*, *Annibalis Eruditricem*; Warlike, Noble for Men and Arms, and who taught *Hannibal*; for all the Exploits which he performd, he did with *Spaniards*. And obſervable it is, that after the *Romanes* had invaded the Provinces of *Spain*, they were the laſt whom they ſubdued, fighting in Her, and for Her in many deſperat doubtful Battails, being ſomtimes Victors, ſomtimes Vanquiſhd, the ſpace of about two hundred long yeers, wheras they did ſpend not neer ſo much time in bringing under the *Roman* yoke any other Country unleſs it was *Great Britain*, (now *England*) who alſo wraſtled ſo long before ſhe could be reducd to a general obedience; which diſcovers the innated ſtoutneſs of the two Nations; wheras all *Gallia* was brought under in leſs then *Ten* years, which may be the reaſon that *Julius Cæſar* (their Conqueror) ſhold ſay, *Plebe Galliæ nihil contemptibilius*, Ther's nothing ſo contemptible as the Peeple of *Gallia*.

Argum. 2.

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That the Catholik King may challenge Precedence by the Authority of General *Councils, and the Learned Doctors of the Church.*

THe Philſopher beats ſtill upon the Anvil of *Reaſon* to make his Concluſions good; The Mathematician by practical and viſible Experiments brings his Concluſions to Demonſtrations; The Juriſts and Theologues do commonly make good their Tenets by Authority of the Ancients, by Examples of Antiquity; And indeed *Reſponſa Patrum, Conſulta Prudentum*, have bin much reputed in all Ages; ther was always a venerable and religious eſteem had of them, ſo that it is held one of the ſtrongeſt ways of diſputing; therfore the dint of this ſecond Argument ſhall be to produce the Authority of ancient Oecumenical Councils, that the Noble Kingdome of *Spain* hath had the Precedence from time to time of *France*, and conſequently of all other Countries.

But let this previous Advertiſement go before, That ſuperiority of ſeſſion, and ſubſcription in General Councils, hath bin diverſly uſd: For ſometimes the Biſhops have not ſubſcribd, taken place, or given their ſuffrages in their own names, but in the name of the Province or Kingdom which they repreſented; and in that caſe ther is not ſo much regard had of the Perſon, or antiquity of Conſecration, but the Dignity of the Nation, as it appeers in two Decrees of *Gratianus*: Therfore the Biſhop of *Milan* did ſubſcribe before him of *Ravenna*, though *Ravenna* be much the more ancient. This cours was obſerv'd in the *Nicene* Council, where the Biſhops voted, and ſubſcribd not according to Priority of Conſecration, bnt Dignity of Provinces, and of the Souverain Prince who ſent them. The like cours was taken in the firſt *Conſtantinopolitan* Council, and others. But as *Baronius* obſerves, to ſit on the *Right-hand* doth not always imply ſuperiority of place; for he relates according to the ancient order of *Rome*, that the Prieſts had ſometimes the Right hand of the Biſhops, as appeers by theſe words, *Sedebunt ex locali diſpoſitione ut intrantibus Eccleſiam Epiſcopi ſint ad ſiniſtram, Presbyteri verò ad dexteram; & quando Pontifex ſederit, & ad eos reſpexerit, Epiſcopos ad dextram, Presbyteros intueatur ad ſiniſtram*: They ſhall ſit by local diſpoſition ſo, that in entring the Church the Biſhops ſhall be on the Left hand, and the Prieſts on the Right; but when the Pope ſhall be ſate, and looks upon them, the Biſhops ſhall be on the Right, and the Prieſts on the Left.

In the firſt Act of the *Nicene* and *Chalcedonian* Synod, it is left upon

upon record that the *Pontificial* Legats sate on the Left hand, the *Bible* being placed in the middle of the Hall, which denoted that Christ was present and President. Moreover, in the celebration of the Masse the Epistle is read upon the Right hand, and the Gospel on the Left, though we know the Gospel to be the worthier of the two.

This being premisd, we will now to the promised Authorities of ancient Councils. We read that in the time of the Apostles, and the very infancie of the Church, ther were four publik Assemblies or Councils; The first was of about 120 of the Faithful who met to elect and substitut *Matthias* to be Apostle in the room of *Judas*. The second, was to choose Deacons, in whose number the blessed Protomartyr St. *Stephen* was one. The third, was to confute *Cerinthus* the Heretique, and whether *Circumcision* was to continue. The fourth, was to give the *Circumcision* an honorable Burial. Now, it is to be observd, that before the two last were held, St. *James* the Apostle had travelld *Spain*, and having reduced that People to *Christianity*, he brought over some of them to *Hierusalem*, who were in all probability present at those two last *Councils*: for in the Acts of the Apostles we read that all the Faithful were at them. Then was St. *James* the first Converter of *Spain*, made the first Martyr of all the *Apostles*, being beheaded by *Herod Agrippa*, 44 *Anno* after the Incarnation of our Saviour.

It having appeerd that some *Spaniards* had bin at the first *Councils* of the *Apostles*, We will now pass to the *Nicene* Council, (pretermitting the *Ancyritan* and *Illiberitan* Synods, with others) Now, That of *Nice* was the first Universal or Oecumenical Council that ever was; for it was convokd by authority of the secular power the Emperour being then become *Christian*. This celebrous Council was in the time of Pope *Sylvester* 325. And as in the Acts it stands upon record, the Bishops therin did not subscribe according to antiquity of Consecration, but according to the Dignity and Renown of the *Province* for which they servd; *Osius* Bishop of *Cordoua* servd then for *Spain*, and *Nicasius Divionsis* for *Gallia*, but *Osius* subscribd first to the *Canons* of the Council, and they are the first most authentik and legal *Canons* of any, for the Emperour did consent therunto. Now as the Record hath it, 318 Bishops subscribd to the Acts therof, which begin thus:

Osius Episcopus Civitatis Cordubensis Provinciæ Hispaniæ dixit, Ita credo sicut superius scriptum est: Osius Bishop of the City of *Cordoua* in the Province of *Spain*, said, I believe so as it is written above.

Victor,

Victor & Vincentius Presbyteri Urbis Romæ, pro Venerabili Viro Papa Episcopo Nostro sancto Sylvestro subscripsimus, Ita credentes sicut suprascriptum est: *Victor* and *Vincentius* Presbyters of the City of *Rome*, we have subscribd for the Venerable Man Pope our Bishop Saint *Sylvester*, beleeving so as is above written.

Provinciæ Egypti Alexander Alexandriæ Magnæ, &c. Of the Province of *Egypt Alexander* of great *Alexandria, &c.*

And when all Provinces had in their order and several degrees thus subscribd, the last supscription runs thus:

Provinciæ Galliarum Nicasius Divienſis, Of the Province of *Gallias Nicasius Divienſis.*

I know the *French* have objected that *Osius* might be then *Legat* for the Pope, and so had precedence; but not a syllable of this is spoken of in the Records of the Council. Others alledg, that *Osius* being a Man of extraordinary Renown at that time because he had had a great hand in the conversion of *Constantin* the Emperour, an extraordinary respect was born him; for *Nicephorus* calls Him the Miracle of that Age, and *Athanasius* stiles him *Patrem Conciliorum, Ducem, & Antesignanum:* But *Ambrosius Morales* with others aver, that he subscribd first out of no other respect but as he was Bishop of *Cordoua*, and represented the Noble Region of *Spain:* And for that regard He preceded also the Bishop of *Constantinople*, as it appeers in a Letter which was written from that *Nicene* Council to the Pope, which runs thus: *Beatissimo Papæ Urbis Romæ cum omni reverentia colendo Sylvestro, Osius Episcopus Provinciæ Hispaniæ Civitatis Cordubensis; & Macarius Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ; & Victor & Vincentius Presbyteri Urbis Romæ Ordinati Ex directione Tua.* To the most Blessed Pope of the City of *Rome* to be worshipped with all reverence *Sylvester*, *Osius* Bishop of the Province of *Spain* and City of *Cordoua*; and *Macarius* Bishop of *Constantinople*; and *Victor* and *Vincentius* Priests of the City of *Rome* ordaind by thy direction, *&c.*

After the *Nicene* Council celebrated under Pope *Sylvester*, other Synods or small Councils met where the Bishops of remote Provinces did not repair, but they who were not far distant. But at the great Council of *Sardis* (for so tis calld by *Athanasius*) ther assembled 300 Occidental Bishops, and 70 of the Levant, who were most of them *Arrians:* In this Council also *Spain* is namd next *Rome*, as it appeers by the Record which goes thus:

Sancta Synodus Dei gratia ex Urbe Roma, Hiſpanis, Gallis, Italis, &c. And *Athanaſius* relates in his Apologie againſt the *Arrians* thus: *Fuere in Magno Sardico Concilio plures quam trecenti Epiſcopi qui ex multis Provinciis Egypti, Lybiæ, Pentapoleos, Paleſtinæ, &c. Hiſpaniarum, Galliarum, Britanniarum, &c. eo ſe ad Concilium contulerunt:* Ther were in the Council of *Sardis* above 300 Biſhops, who out of many Provinces of *Egypt, Lybia, Pentapolis, Paleſtine, &c. Spain, Gallia, Britain, &c.* did repair to the Council.

In the raign of *Conſtantius* the Emperour 358. He cauſd two Councils to convene, One of the Oriental Biſhops at *Seleucia*; The other at *Ariminum* in *Italy*, conſiſting of Weſtern Biſhops, and in the Acts therof *Spain* is ſtill nominated before *France*. At the firſt Council in *Conſtantinople*, and that at *Rome* under Pope *Symachus*, with others, ther can be no judgment made of Precedencies, until *Lugdunenſe Concilium*, the ſecond Council at *Lions*, *Anno* 1274. held under Pope *Gregory* the tenth, where among divers other ther were Ambaſſadors from *Paleologue* the Eaſtern Emperour, and the King of *Tartary*. This Council was convokd principally for reconciling the *Greek* Church with the *Latin*, for the converſion of the *Tartars*, and alſo for an Expedition to the *Holy Land*. Ther aſſembled 500 Archbiſhops and Biſhops, 40 Abbots, and 1000 Prelats and Doctors, among whom *Bonadventure* and the Angelical Doctor *Thomas Aquinas* who aſſiſted there did die. Don *Jaime* King of *Aragon* was earneſtly ſollicited by the Pope to be there, as *Peter Beuter* hath it upon good record in the *Spaniſh* Toung, as followeth: *Viendo el Papa Gregorio que la ygleſia tenia gran neceſsidad de Concilio para muchas coſas, y eſpetialmente para las de Ultramar determinò de juntar Concilio en Leon en Francia para la paſcua del Eſpiritu ſanto, y embiava à aviſar al Rey de Aragon, Encareciendole que no faltaſſe de alli teniendo neceſsidad de ſu preſentia, para dar Conſejo, y favor à la ſanta Igleſia, &c.* Pope *Gregory* ſeeing that the Church had great neceſſity of a General Council for many things, ſpecially for Affairs beyond the Seas, determind to convoque one at *Lions* in *France* towards *Whitſontide*; and ſending notice hereof to *James* King of *Aragon*, he endeard the buſineſs unto him, deſiring his preſence, in regard there wold be great want of his perſon to afford counſel and favor to the Holy Church, *&c.*

King *James* came accordingly in a ſplendid Equippage; and the Cardinals, Biſhops, and the world of Prelats that came to meet him three miles, were ſo numerous, that though they ſet forth betimes in the morning, yet it was after noon before he arrivd at the Popes Palace: The next day He made a Noble Speech, and Hortative for a Cruzada to the Holy Land, taking the *ſuperior* place all the time he was there; which raiſing ſome

envy in the Ambaſſadors of other Kings, diſcontents grew, and ſo nothing took effect.

Under *Clement* the fifth, *Anno* 1311. a Council was convokd at *Vienna*, wherin ther were 300 Biſhops, beſides other Eccleſiaſtiks, where *Philippe le Bel*, with his Son *Luys Hutin* King of *Navarre*, and two other of his Sons came, but ther is no mention made in the Records of any matters of *Precedence*, nor likewiſe in the Council of *Mantua* held by *Pius* 2. 1458.

Then came the Council of *Baſil*, and hear what *Platina* ſaith in the Life of *Eugenius* 4. *Et quod Baſilienſe Concilium jam antea inchoatum Martini Decreto augeri indies cerneret, concurrentibus eò Hiſpaniæ, Galliæ, Germaniæ, &c. principibus qui communem Chriſtianæ Reiqublicæ cauſam in arbitrio Concilii diſponebant.* And becauſe the Council at *Baſil* begun before by the Decree of *Martin* was ſeen to increaſe daily, ſome Princes of *Spain*, *France*, and *Germany*, *&c.* concurring thither for diſpoſing of the common cauſe of the Chriſtian Republik, according to the arbitrement of the Council, *&c.* where you find that *Spain* is nominated before all other Countries.

In the *Council* of *Florence* begun at *Ferrara* under *Eugenius* 4. where *Johannes Paleologus* the Greek Emperour, and the Patriark of *Conſtantinople*, and a great confluence of Greek and Latin Prelats were aſſembled, ther is no ſuperior place mentiond in the Acts of that Council, nor among the Writers of the Hiſtory therof.

We come now to the *Council* of *Trent*, where the Marquiſs of *Peſcara* and the Count of *Luna* were Ambaſſadors for *Philip* the ſecond, the mighty King of *Spain:* you may finde that in the Acts of that long Concil they never came behind the Emperour, but ſate between the Secretary of the Council and the Popes Nuncio on the right hand, wheras the *French* Ambaſſador ſate upon the left hand both of the Legat and the Imperial Ambaſſador.

Now to go from *Oecumenical* Councils to *National*, wherſoever the Biſhops of *Spain* and *France* met, *Spain* had the firſt Seſſion, Voice and Nomination as the Nobler Kingdome. As appeers in the third Council at *Toledo*, in the raign of King *Ricaredus*, as may be plainly read in the Works of *Garſia Loaiſa*, Preceptor to the glorious and Catholik King *Philip* 2. and afterwards Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, whoſe ſublime Erudition joynd with integrity, and ſignal ſanctity of Life and Manners do ſo contend for precedence, that it is hard to judge which of them excels moſt, they all are ſo perfectly reſplendent.

In the fourth *Toledo* Council ther is frequent mention made in *Morales, de Hiſpaniæ & Galliæ præſulibus; de Hiſpaniæ & Galliæ ſacerdotibus.*

Go

Go to the ancient *Doctors* of the Church where ther is mention made of *Spain* and *France*, *Spain* moſt commonly is namd firſt: we will firſt inſtance in *Tertullian* in his Book *Adverſus Judæos*, where ſpeaking of the multitude of Nations that were converted to Chriſtianity, He ſpeaks *Hiſpaniarum omnes termini, & Galliarum diverſæ Nationes & Britannorum inacceſſa loca Romanis, Chriſto vero ſubdita*, &c. Ther is a remarkable thing in *Irenæus*; *Etſi in mundo loquelæ diſſimiles ſint, Virtus tamen Traditionis una & eadem eſt; & neq; hæ quæ ſunt in Germania fundatæ Eccleſiæ aliter credunt, aut aliter tradunt; Neq; hæ quæ in Iberis ſunt neq; hæ quæ ſunt in Celtis; neq; hæ quæ ſunt in Oriente; neq; hæ quæ ſunt in Egypto; Neq; hæ quæ ſunt in Lybia; neq; hæ quæ in medio Mundi ſunt conſtitutæ: ſed ſicut Sol creatura Dei in univerſo mundo unus, & idem eſt, ſic lumen ac prædicatio Veritatis ubiq; lucet, & illuminat omnes homines qui volunt ad Veritatis cognitionem venire.* Although the Languages of the world be differing, yet the Vertu of Tradition is one and the ſame: For neither thoſe Churches that are founded in *Germany* do believe, or deliver otherwiſe; nor thoſe which are in *Spain*, nor thoſe which are in *France*, *&c.*

VVe will conclude with Saint *Hierome: Hoc in Eccleſiis ſuis faciant quod Romæ, ſive quod in Italia, &c. quod in Hiſpania, quod in Britannia, quod etiam ex parte per Gallias, &c.*

This precedence for *Spain* is alſo confirmd in the Imperial Laws of *Juſtinian*, where he ſaith, *Quæ cunq; in partibus Hiſpaniarum, Galliæ ſive Francorum aguntur, &c.* And ther was great care and caution uſd to give evry Country and Nation its Right touching this particular in the *Juſtinian* Laws, whoſe principal aim was *ſuum Cuiq; tribuere*, to give evry Country and Kingdome its due in point of Dignity as well as of Poſſeſſion, and common Right.

Argum. 3.

Argum. 3.

That the King of Spain *may challenge Precedence, becauſe* Spain *firſt receavd, and profeſſd the Catholik Faith; That the firſt Chriſtian Church was built there; The firſt Council was celebrated there; The firſt Biſhop and the firſt Emperour was out of Her, &c.*

THey who write of the Glory of Nations, ſhold in the firſt place look upon their antiquity and origine. Ther is a Topik Axiome, That *Bonum quò antiquius eò melius*; Therfore Antiquity conduceth much to the Honour and Dignity of a Peeple; As *Pliny* doth elegantly expreſs, *Reverere gloriam Veterum; nam hanc ipſam ſenectutem quæ in Homine venerabilis, in Urbibus ſacra eſt:* Reverence the Glory of the Ancients, for that Old Age which is venerable in Man, is ſacred in Cities.

Touching the Originals of *Spain*, and of Her Inhabitants, with the propagation and ſucceſſion of them, ther are four things to be conſidered in the enquiry therof; firſt, of what Peeple they firſt deſcended; what tranſmigrations they made; at what time; and by what Right or Title. Theſe may be calld the principles of a Country. The *Arcadians* did vaunt that they were ſynchronical, or contemporary with the Gods; that they were before the Sun and the Stars. Other Nations do labour much to derive themſelfs from before the Floud. Now concerning *Spain*, all Annaliſts concur that *Tubal Cain* was her firſt Populator, being allurd by the amœnity and fruitfulneſs of the Country and Clime; and this was 2173 years before the Nativity of our Saviour, and 1179 from the Creation, and 143 years after the general Deluge. *Beroſus* affirms that *Tubal* raignd in *Spain* 151 yeers, and *Strabo* concurs with him: ſome call him *Jobel*, and *Joſephus* calls the *Spaniards Jobeles* from him. *Setubal* in *Portugal* receaves her denomination thence, as alſo *Tudela* in the Kingdome of *Navarre*. Some are of opinion that *Noe* came alſo to *Spain*, for in *Aſturia* ther is a Town calld *Noega*, and *Noela* in *Galicia*. *Spain* was calld *Iberia* from King *Iberus*; and ther's a great River alſo of his name, vulgarly calld *Ebro*, wherin many other Rivers do diſburden themſelfs, which was the occaſion of the Proverb, *Me llamo* Ebro *porque de todas aguas bevo*. It is alſo calld *Heſperia* from the Occidental Star; At laſt it came to be calld *Hiſpania* from King *Hiſpanus*.

We will now proceed to prove that *Spain* receavd, and profeſſd the Chriſtian Religion firſt of any. And, as this Inferiour World is governd by the motion, and circumgyrations of

the Heavens, ſo Chriſtian Kingdoms are governd by Religion and Faith, and by the holy Profeſſors therof. Now, *Spain* had the advantage and honor to have the firſt Martyr among the Apoſtles for her Father and Founder, which was St. *James*, who though he was beheaded in *Jeruſalem*, yet his Body was tranſported to *Spain* by a wonderful Providence, where a ſtately Dome or Church is built for him, frequented by Emperours and Kings, with innumerable ſorts of Pilgrims. *Charlemain* came of purpoſe to do his Devotions in that Church where ſuch mighty miracles are daily wrought. Now in *Tarragona* the moſt bleſſed Virgin appeerd to St. *James*, and gave him order to erect a Church there, which is the ancientſt of any in the Chriſtian world.

Moreover, for the predication of the Goſpel, the hevenly tidings of ſalvation, it began in *Spain* three yeers after the paſſion of Chriſt, as it is recorded in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Baronius*, and confirmd in the Council of *Trent*, with the whole current of Antiquity, ſo that it can be no leſs then an Impiety to make any heſitation therin.

After the predication of St. *James*, Saint *Paul* alſo came to *Spain*; nay the Prince of the Apoſtles St. *Peter* performd a peregrination thither; and among others he converted *Epinetus*; ſo that the Chriſtian Faith was founded in *Spain* by theſe three great Pillars of the Church. Saint *Torquatus* Biſhop of *Guadix* was one of the firſt whom St. *James* reduced to Chriſt, and ther is an Olive-tree planted by his hand which bears fruit to this day; and the Bridg is yet remaining which broke and fell down under thoſe who did purſue and perſecute the Chriſtians in thoſe days.

Saint *Cecilius* his Church neer *Granada* is ſtanding to this day, where alſo ſo many miracles and wonderful cures are commonly wrought. There alſo is the famous *Valparayſo*, the Valley of Paradiſe, where ſo many Martyrs ſufferd, and their Reliques remain to this day, as appeers by this Record which I thought worthy to inſert here.

In nomine Dom. noſtri Jeſu Chriſti,
En el anno ix. del Pontificado de nueſtro ſantiſsimo Padre Clemente Octavo, y el anno 2. del Reyno del Clementiſsimo, y Catholico Don Philippo 3.

Nos Don Pedro de Caſtro, por la gracia de Dios, y de la ſanta ſede Apoſtolica Arſobiſpo de Granada, del conſejo del Rey nueſtro ſenor, con conſejo, y aſenſo de los Reverendiſsimos Prelados Don Juan de Fonſeca Obiſpo de Guadix del conſejo de ſu Mageſtad, provincial, y ſufraganeo nueſtro, y Don Sebaſtian Quintero Obiſpo de Gallipoli, y Don Alfonſo

ſonſo de Mendoſa Abad de Alcala la real. Aviendo tratado de las Reliquias que el anno del nacimiento de nueſtro Salvador Jeſu Chriſto de 1595. ſe hallaron deribando una torre antiquiſsima en eſta ſanta Igleſia, y otras en el monte que Llaman Valparayſo el conocimiento y aprobacion de las quales nos pertenece por derecho, y por el ſanto Concilio de Trenta, y por comiſsion eſpecial de nueſtro muy ſanto padre Clemente Octavo; Viſto eſte proceſſo, y todas las informaciones, averiguaciones, y diligentias en el hechas, y aviendo avido conſejo, y deliberacion con barones muy doctos, pios, y Theologos, y de otras facultades con nos congregados, y todo lo demas que fue neceſſario, y verſe convino. Fallamos de un meſmo parecer, y aſenſo en que fueron todos conformes, que devemos declarar.

"In the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,
"In the ninth year of the Pontificat of our moſt holy Father
"Pope *Clement* 8. and in the ſecond year of our moſt
"merciful and Catholick King Don *Philip* the 3.

"We Don *Pedro de Caſtro* by the Grace of God, and the holy
"Apoſtolik Seat, Archbiſhop of *Granada*, of the Council of the
"King our Lord, with the counſel and conſent of the moſt re-
"verend Prelats Don *John* of *Ponſeca* Biſhop of *Guadix* of his
"Majeſties Council our Comproyincial and Suffragan, and
"Don *Sebaſtian Quintero* Biſhop of *Gallipoli*, and Don *Alonſo de*
"*Mendoſa* Abbat of *Alcala*; Having treated of the Reliques
"which were found 1598. by pulling down a Wall in this
"moſt ancient Church, with others in the Mount *Valparay-*
"*ſo*, the knowledge and approbation wherof belongs to us
"by the holy Council of *Trent*, and by ſpecial commiſſion
"from our holy Father *Clement* the 8. The proceſs herof being
"ſeen, with the Informations, Averiguations and diligences
"done therein; and having taken the advice and deliberation
"of moſt learned and pious Theologues, with other Facukies
"which was convenient and neceſſary to be done;

"We find according to the concordant and unanimous con-
"ſent of all, that we ought to declare, and we do hereby declare,
"define and pronounce the ſaid Reliques in this proceſs con-
"taind, *viz.* the one half of the cloth wherwith the glorious
"Virgin *Mary* wipd her Tears at the paſſion of her Son our Sa-
"viour, and a bone of St. *Stephen* the Protomartyr, are the
"tru cloth of our Lady, and bone of St. *Stephen*; and that ha-
"ving bin hidden, lockd up, and kept in the Wall of a moſt an-
"cient Tower which was built neer this Church, being put in
"a Leaden Box lind within and without, and within the ſaid
"Box a Letter of moſt ancient parchment, wherein *Patricius* the
"Prieſt relates the ſaid Reliques to be; and that he did hide

"them

"them there by the command of Saint *Cecilius*; and all was "found within the ſaid Box upon St. *Joſephs* day, 19 of *March*, "by pulling down and deſtroying the ſaid Tower; We like-"wiſe declare, define and pronounce the ſaid Bone, Duſt and "Aſhes, and white Morter which were found in *Valparayſo*, to be "really the Reliques of holy Martyrs who now rejoyce and "raign with God in Heven; *viz.* of Saint *Cecilio*. Saint *Hiſcio*, "Saint *Cteſiphon*, Diſciples to the moſt bleſſed Apoſtle Saint "*James Zebedeus*; and of Saint *Setentrio*, and *Patricio* Diſciples "of St. *Cecilio*; and of *Turillo*, *Panuncio*, *Maronio*, *Centulio*, Diſ-"ciples of Saint *Hiſcio*; and of St. *Maximinio* and *Lupario*, Diſ-"ciples of St. *Cteſiphon*, and St. *Meſiton*; And the ſaid Saints "ſufferd Martyrdome ſome, by fire being burnt alive, ſome ſhut "up in the Caves and Caverns of the ſaid Mountains for the "Faith of our Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, and for preaching and "publiſhing his Goſpel in the ſecond yeer of the raign of *Nero*, "St. *Cecilio* with his Diſciples ſuffring upon the Calends of *Fe-*"*bruary*, St. *Hiſcius* on the Calends of *March*, and St. *Cteſiphon* "with his Diſciples on the Calends of *April*, as four Leafs of "Lead do manifeſtly ſhew in Latin Letters written in moſt an-"cient characters, with other old Inſtruments of Lead, all "which was hidden and found in the caverns of the ſaid Moun-"tains, and never diſcoverd until now; and this proceſs is ve-"rified, and God hath confirmd it by divers miracles. In con-"ſequence wherof we declare that the ſaid Reliques ought to be "receavd, honord, reverencd, adord with honor and holy wor-"ſhip, as the tru Reliques of the moſt bleſſed Virgin our Lady, "and of the ſaid Martyrs who raign now with God, according "as the holy Catholik Church doth accuſtome to have in due "veneration ſuch Reliques of Saints, and expoſe them to pub-"lik view to that effect, That they may be incited to invoke "them accordingly. And we with others here congregated do "ſo receave and reverence them, commanding that they be kept "in ſafe cuſtody, and in a decent place according to the pleſure "and appointment of the moſt Reverend Archbiſhop that ſhall "be then of this Church.

"And we further declare the ſaid *Valparayſo*, and the Caverns "wherin thoſe bleſſed Saints ſufferd Martyrdom to be holy pla-"ces, which ought to be reverencd and honord, and have pre-"rogatives accordingly, as the holy Canons do allow to ſuch "places. And ſo we pronounce this our ſentence, and firm it "with our Names, ſealing it alſo with our Seals.

Petrus de Caſtro Archiep. Granatenſu.
Johannes Epiſcopus Guadix.
S. Epiſcopus Gallipoli.
Alfonſus Abbas.

Beſides

Beſides theſe, ther was, after due proceſs made, a ſentence paſſd alſo for ſeven more great Saints, *viz.* St. *Secundus Epiſcopus Abulenſis*, where his body is had in great reverence to this day; St. *Indalecius Epiſcopus Urcetanus*, in the Kingdome of *Aragon* upon the confines of *Navarre*; St. *Cteſiphon* Biſhop of *Almeria*; St. *Heſichius*; St. *Euphraſius Epiſcopus Illurgitanus* of *Jaen* in *Andaluzia*, who as *Baronius* affirms was Auditor and Diſciple to St. *James* the Apoſtle, and was ordained Biſhop *anno Chriſti* 43. in the raign of *Claudius Cæſar*. Beſides theſe ſeven, ther is *Athanaſius* and *Theodorus* neer the body of the holy Apoſtle, the one on the right, the other on the left hand of the Apoſtle, preſerved with great vigilance to this day. Now, all theſe Martyrs and Patrons of *Spain* are mentiond by Cardinal *Baronius* and *Galeſinus* in their Martyrologies, as alſo by *Vaſeus*, *Morales*, and *Mariana*, *&c.* Now, that St. *Paul* was in *Spain*, hear what Pope *Gregory* the ſeventh ſaith in his Epiſtle: *Gregorius Epiſcopus Servus ſervorum Dei, Alfonſo, & Sanctio Regibus Hiſpaniæ, Abbatibus, & Epiſcopis in ditione ſua conſtitutis ſalutem, & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Cum B. Apoſtolus Paulus Hiſpaniam ſe adiiſſe ſignificet, ac poſtea 7 Epiſcopos ab Urbe Roma ad inſtituendos Hiſpaniæ populos à Petro & Paulo Apoſtolis directos fuiſſe, qui deſtructa Idololatria Chriſtianitatem fundaverunt, Religionem plantaverunt, ordinem, & officium in Divinis cultibus agendis oſtenderunt, & ſanguine ſuo Eccleſias ſeminârunt, veſtra diligentia non ignoret quantam concordiam cum Romana Urbe Hiſpania in Religione, & ordine Divini Officii habuiſſet ſatis patet.* It appeers herby, as by a world of teſtimonies beſides, what a ſweet harmony and concordance ther hath bin always twixt *Spain* and *Rome*; And how that the predication of Chriſtian Faith, with the inſtitution therof, begun by the Apoſtle St. *James*, was increaſd by *Peter* and *Paul*, and confirmd by the ſeven forementiond Martyrs, who were Auditors and Diſciples of St. *James*; beſides many others whoſe names are found in the Book of Martyrologies.

In the ſecond perſecution under *Domitian*, after the cruelties of *Nero*, *Eugenius* Biſhop of *Toledo* was Diſciple of *Dionyſius Areopagita*. This *Eugenius* being a man excellent for wiſdome and Doctrine, made choice of the City of *Toledo* for his ſeat, as being ſituated in the centre of the Kingdome, that the Spirit of Chriſt might be diffuſd thence as from the heart into the whole body of the Country. The Body of which *Eugenius* was removd from *France* into the great Church of *Toledo*, and carried upon the ſholders of the moſt religious King *Philip* 2 part of the way, *Anno* 1565.

Moreover, it ſtands upon good record according to *Mariana*, how Pope *Clement*, St. *Peters* immediat Succeſſor, ſent *Philip* and *Marcellus* into *Spain* as Legats, and with Letters and com-

miſſion accordingly; And it is agreed by all that they were the firſt *Legats*, and they carried the firſt *Letters* that ever were ſent from *Rome* by any *Nuncios*, which are to be found to this day in the Church of *Compoſtella*.

In the third perſecution of *Trajan*, *Sanctus Mancius* floriſhd in *Spain*, who was one of the ſeventy two Diſciples of our Saviour, and ſervd him at adminiſtration of the Holy Sacrament, and ſpread his veſtment when he entred into *Jeruſalem* upon *Palm-Sunday*, who afterwards was made a glorious Martyr.

Vaceus relates an Epitaph which runs thus: *Belila Hiſpana ſerva Jeſu Chriſti requievit in Domino, Obiit æra* 115. *hoc eſt anno Dom.* 77. *Belila a Spaniard*, ſervant of Jeſus Chriſt, did reſt in the Lord; ſhe died in the yeer 77 after the paſſion. *Venerus* writes that this Epitaph was found in *Biſcay*.

Ther is another Epiſtle of Pope *Clement* written to the Biſhops of *Spain*, which is alſo conſervd in *Compoſtella*-Church to this day. And this was the ſtate of the *Spaniſh* Church the firſt century of yeers after the Nativity of Chriſt, wherin *John* the Evangeliſt livd, during which time thirteen Biſhopricks are regiſtred in *Spain*, and a great number of the Faithful; for in the City of *Pampelona* 40000 were converted, and *Biſcay* or *Cantabria* was moſt inhabited by Martyrs, as *Iræneus* relates, an Author who was neer the time of the Apoſtles.

Furthermore, ther was a moſt ſignal and notable rare thing happend in *Spain*; for the ſame night that our bleſſed Saviour was born, ther were three Suns appeerd viſibly in the *Spaniſh* Region, which by gentle degrees came to concentre into one. Out of theſe premiſes it is apparent that the firſt Martyr-Apoſtle preachd in *Spain*; That he erected there the firſt Church dedicated to the bleſſed *Virgin*; That ſhe appeerd there being conducted by Angels; That the body of St. *James* lieth there inhumd with ſo much ſtate: And this was before ther was any predication of Chriſtian Doctrine in *France*; ſo that the firſt *Faithful*, the firſt *Apoſtle*, the firſt *Church*, the firſt Apoſtolical *Nuncio*, and firſt *Epiſtle* was ſent by Pope *Clement* the firſt into *Spain*. St. *Paul* did ſecond what St. *James* had begun; and all this is confirmd by St. *Irenæus*, one of the firſt among the Primitive Fathers.

Argum. 4.

Argum. 4.

Proving, That the King of Spain *may challenge* Precedence *becauſe he is the* Catholik *King, which is a more ancient Title then* Chriſtianiſſimus.

ONe of the greateſt Foundations wheron *France* doth build her right to a Precedence, is, that ſhe wold perſwade the world, that her Kings are more *Ancient* both in the reception and profeſſion of *Chriſtianity*; which aſſertion being well examind and diſcuſſd, it will appeer that both generally and privatly ther were *Catholik* Kings in *Spain* before any in *France*; and to proceed more methodically, we will deduce the buſineſs from the beginning. We know that the bleſſed Apoſtle St. *James* was put to death with the ſword by *Herod*, as appeers in the Epiſtle of Pope *Leo* touching his Martyrdome, and the tranſlation of his Body into *Spain*; which Epiſtle he deſtinated for the *Spaniards*; wherin He relates, that when the *Jews* had hurld his whole body without the City to be devourd by Beaſts and Birds, his Diſciples having notice therof in his life-time, they recoverd the whole body, head and all, in the night-time, and carried it to *Joppa* for tranſportation of it to *Spain*; where being careful for the embarcation therof, they found a ſhip ready in the Port, and ſome ſay it was of ſtone, where, after thanks being given to God, they placd the body of the moſt holy Apoſtle; and after many dangers they arrivd at *Iria Flaria*, now calld *Padron*; thence they carried it to *Liberum Donum*, now calld *Compoſtella*, where they entombd it in a Marble Monument: But, as the Diſciples were ſeeking for a place fit for ſo great an *Apoſtle*, they made their addreſs to Queen *Luparia* or *Lupa*, who ſent them to King *Philotrus*, who caſting them into an obſcure priſon, they were freed by an Angel; and while the ſoldiers were in purſute of them, they were all drownd in a River, the Bridg and all falling down with them, by which miracle King *Philotrus* was converted. But *Luparia* continuing obſtinat, ſhe threw their Bodies to Bulls and Dragons, wherof ſome they ſlew, and ſome grew mild. Then *Luparia* being orecome by theſe miracles, cauſd a Temple to be erected there for the holy Apoſtle, as *Faber* out of *Sophorinus* doth affirm; And although *Morales* makes a doubt herof, in regard that *Spain* was then ſubject to the *Romans*, and ſo could have no Kings, yet ther might be ſome Kings there though ſubject and tributary to *Rome*, as *Herodes Agrippa* was in *Hieruſalem*, and as Queen *Candacis* was. But becauſe theſe paſſages are ſo overgrown with yeers, let us haſten to later times.

The

The ſecond ſignal time that *Spain* receavd extraordinary influence of Chriſtian Faith, was in the raign of *Conſtantine* the great, who was ſo glorious an Inſtrument to the Church, his Mother, a *Britiſh* Lady being a *Chriſtian*, and *Oſius* a Spaniſh Biſhop having taken ſo much pains for his converſion; Then *Theodoſius* who did propagat the Faith more openly, and did deſtroy the *Pagan* Churches which were ſtuffd with Idols, was by Nation a *Spaniard*, and his ſons who ſucceeded him in the Empire.

The third time was, when the ſeat of the *Roman* Empire being tranſlated to *Conſtantinople*, divers rough Northern Nations broke in, and ſeazd upon moſt parts of the Weſtern Territories therof, ſo that the *Goths* invaded *Spain*, and came to poſſeſs it; and then by the ſpecial benediction of God, ther was a Catholik King in *Spain* before any in *France*: For *an.* 554. *Athanagildus* King of the *Goths*, according to the currant conſent of all Hiſtoriographers, profeſſd the *Chriſtian Faith*, as *Lucas Tudenſis* hath it. Then ſucceeded him *Leonegildus*; Then a little after came *Richaredus*, and in his raign the whole Kingdome of *Spain* became *Catholik*, and floriſhd exceedingly.

But the *French* object that *Anno* 496. *Clodoveus* was baptizd by St. *Rhemigius*, and ſo had the ſtart of *Richaredus* in Chriſtianity; but to that tis anſwerd, That the whole Kingdome of *France* was not then converted; Nor was He King of all the Kingdome, as *Richaredus* was of *Spain*: For *Gregorius Turonenſis* relates, that *Clodoveus* with his two ſiſters were baptizd, and three thouſand *French* more, the whole Kingdome came not to be Chriſtian a good while after, wheras all *Spain* was reducd entirely to the Faith a good while before, and did make open profeſſion therof in the Council of *Toledo*. Morcover, a good part of *France* was then ſubject to *Theodoricus* King of the *Oſtrogoths*, who then raignd in *Italy*; who were of the *Arrian* Hereſie. But *Spain* was then totally under *Richaredus*: whence may be inferrd that *Spain* generally had a *Chriſtian* King before *France*. But if we divide *Spain* into Provinces, ther were divers of them had Chriſtianity planted, and publiquely preferrd before *Clovis*; for *Rechiarius* King of the *Suevians* was *Chriſtian Anno* 440. Furthermore, tis very obſervable that from *Richaredus* no King in *Spain* fell from the true Catholick Church; wheras, divers in *France* did after *Clodoveus*, as *Chilperik* and others; witneſs what *Gaguinus* writes, *Nec multò poſt Chilpericus cujus malitia ut in Homines multis fraudibus perſpicua eſſet, in Deum quoq; impietatem meditatus eſt; de divina quidem Trinitate ita credi noluit, ut tres in Illa Perſonas ſed unam confiteretur, &c.* Not long after, *Chilperik*, whoſe malice was ſo evident againſt men, did meditat malice alſo againſt God; for he wold not confeſs three, but one Perſon

Perſon in the Trinity: And *Mauſonius* ſaith, *Chilpericus cùm multis rebus impiè geſtis Deum ſibi iratum reddidiſſet menſe quarto à Natali Clodovæi ſucceſſoris ſui apud Callam vicum Pariſiorum occiditur*: *Chilperik* when for many things impiouſly committed he had made God angry with him, was killd in *Calla*, a ſmall Village of the *Pariſians*.

And in this laſt Age, the laſt King of *France* before *Hen.* 4. having done ſome acts of Impiety, as impriſoning of Cardinals, and other things, it induced a Brother of the *Dominican* Order to diſpatch him violently out of the world.

Beſides, a King of *Spain Rechiarius* was the firſt, who out of a Zeal to protect the tru Religion, made the firſt War againſt the Enemies therof, which were the *Arrian Goths*; and ever ſince the Kings of *Spain* have bin the greateſt Champions and Propugnators of the Catholik Church upon all occaſions.

But now we will take in hand the Titles of *Chriſtianiſſimus* and *Catholik*, and make it appeer that the Kings of *Spain* had the one, before the *French* Kings had the other; and becauſe that *Names are the Images of Things*, we will give you their primitive derivations.

The firſt Propagators of *Chriſtianity* we all know were the holy *Apoſtles*, and their *Diſciples*; but ſome of the latter falling into errors, the Orthodoxal *Diſciples* to diſtinguiſh themſelſs from the falſe, calld themſelſs *Chriſtians*, which name they firſt aſſumd at *Antioch*, and then it grew general, being derivd from *Chriſt*, and Chriſt a Criſmate or Unction. It was afterwards raiſd to a ſuperlatif, to *Chriſtianiſſimus*, which was firſt given to the *Emperors*, and to this day, as *Caſtaldus* obſerves, they are ſolemnly prayed for *in Oratione Paraſceue*, in Good-Friday-Prayer evry yeer, *Oremus & pro Chriſtianiſſimo Imperatore noſtro*; wherin *Ferrault* is deceavd by attributing it onely to the *French King*. Moreover, divers Kings of *Spain* had that *Title* given them upon occaſion, as all the *Spaniſh* Annaliſts do aver; For *Richaredus* was calld *Chriſtianiſſimus Anno* 589. and after him *Siſebutus Anno* 616. when he expelld the *Jews* out of the Territories of *Spain*; and *Cinthillanus* is calld ſo in the ſixth Council of *Toledo*; and Pope *Leo* writing to *Quirico* calls *Flavium Ervigium* then King of *Spain*, *Chriſtianiſſimum* in the fourth Council of *Toledo*; and this was before *Charlemain*, who firſt bore that Title in *France*. *Ramirus* King of *Aragon*, and *Sancho* 3. as alſo *Alphonſus Magnus*, was entitled ſo.

Now let us examine when this Title *Chriſtianiſſimus* was given to the *French* Kings: Moſt do affirm that it began in *Charlemain*, but obſerve, it was given him, and to ſome of his Succeſſors as they were *Emperours*: for the ordinary Title which was uſd

to be given the Kings of *France* before, was *Illustris*. Ther is another opinion, that Pope *Pius* 2. gave *Lewis* 11. of *France* the Title of *Christianissimus*, and that his Father *Charles* had it in the Council of *Mantua Anno* 1459.

But grant that the *French* Kings had the Title *Christianissimus* given them since *Charlemain*, yet the Title *Catholicus* was given before to the Kings of *Spain*: For *Alfonso* Son-in-law to *Pelagius* had it *Anno* 734. as *Garabai* and *Morales* do affirm, and the Epitaph upon his Tomb doth justifie it, which is *Alfonsus Catholicus*. Others are of opinion that *Richaredus* who quelld the *Arrian Heresie* was first intitled *Catholicus*.

But now that we have spoken of the Antiquity of these two Titles in relation to the two Kings, we will examine which is the superior and more excellent, *Christianissimus* or *Catholicus*, not but that both of them are sublime and glorious. Touching the Title *Catholik*, it is so complete a word that nothing can be added to it, therfore it admits no *superlatif*; it is of that comprehensif latitude, that it is *Universal*, which is the tru Etymologie of the Greek word: now it is an Axiome in all Sciences, *Qui totum dicit, nihil excludit*; Who says All, excludes nothing: therfore we say, *Ecclesiam Catholicam*, not *Catholicissimam*; as we say, *Concilium œcumenicum*, or *Universale*, not *Universalissimum*.

And certainly this word *Catholicum* must be of extraordinary value, and ancient extraction, since it was an Epithet given the Church of Christ in the Apostolical Creed, in that first Symbole of Faith, *Credo in Spiritum sanctum, & sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam*. Now, as we pointed at before, wheras any Beleever was calld *Christian* at first, and that by erroneous interpretations, some Heresies began to creep in, the name of *Catholik* was given *him* who was a constant embracer of the tru Doctrine of the *Church*: wheras the simple name *Christian* might comprehend also a Heretik, as *Pacianus* observes against the *Novatians*, *Christianus mihi nomen est, Catholicus vero cognomen; Illud me nuncupat, Istud ostendit; Hoc probat, Illud significat*: My name is *Christian*, my sirname *Catholik*; the one calls me, the other shews me; this proves, the other signifies. Insomuch that the word *Catholik* did distinguish a tru Beleever from a Heretik. Whence the excellencie of this word appears, being a primitive attribut given both to *Church* and *Faith*; for they were both calld *Catholik*. Nor doth it follow though evry *Catholik* be a *Christian*, that evry *Christian* is a *Catholik*: For when one is calld *Catholik*, tis understood that he is an Elect, that he is faithful, pure, constant and obedient to the Doctrine of the holy Church without mixture or taint: Therfore most meritoriously is this high Epithet peculiar to the King of *Spain*, because he permits no Apostats,

no

no Schismaticks to be in his Dominions, as the *French*, and other Kings do: But by an humble filial obedience he adheres to the Catholik Mother-church, which is the *Roman*; For the *Roman* and *Catholik* Church are Synonimas according to Saint *Cyprian*, in these words, *Dividi à Romano Pontifice idem quod ab universa Ecclesia schismate separari; Rursum illam communicare id ipsum esse quod Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitati conjungi:* To be divided from the *Roman* Bishop, is to be separated by Schism from the universal Church; and to hold communion with him, is the same as to be joynd in unity with the Catholik Church.

Argum. 5.

Proving, That the King of Spain *may challenge Precedence because that in Magnitude of Kingdoms, in Power, Territories and Treasure He excels all other.*

MUltitude of Regions, Affluence of Wealth, and Magnitude of Power, is so considerable in Kings, that this one Reason of it self were sufficient by Divine Laws as well as Humane, to yeeld unto *Him* who excels in these Particulars superiority of session and precedence.

Now, in all things by the very constitution of the Creator, ther is a superiority and excellence; Eternity is above Time; The Intellect is beyond Reason; and Reason above Sense. Go to the Fabrick of Cœlestial Cretures, and the pulchritude of the Stars; We see the Sun is as their Prince; and one Star exceeds another in glory: so in this Elementary and the lower world, specially among Mankind, some are more Illustrious, some more Potent then others; Nature will tell you that all the Fingers of the hand are not equal; and this inequality conduceth to the bewty of the Univers, and *Manilius* tells us,

Est æquale nihil, Terrenos aspice tractus.

By which Ratiocination he is most sublime, and may claim superiority who exceeds in multitude of Peeple, in extent of Regions, in Wealth and Dominions; and since the *Catholik* King excels in all these, as the *French* Authors themselfs confess out of *Cassanæus*, certainly the higher seat is to be assignd Him. The wisest of Kings tells us, that *In multitudine Populi dignitas Regis, & in paucitate Plebis ignominia Principis*; In the multitude consists the dignity of a King, and in the paucity of peeple his shame. Therfore at the meeting of Councils, an *Universal* Council which is made up of most Bishops is more illustrious, and carrieth a greater stamp of authority then a Provincial, which consisteth of

of fewer; As the *Emperour* and *Pope* have three Crowns apeece, denoting *Asia*, *Afrik*, and *Europe*, where the first exerciseth Souvrain Power in *Temporals*, and the other in all *Spiritual* Affairs.

Now, to prove that the Catholik King is more potent then any other in spacious Dominions, it is no hard task: For go to *Spain* it self, it cannot be denied but it is a large Empire. Tis tru, that *Spain* in former times was divided into many Kingdoms, as *Castile*, *Aragon*, *Navarre*, *Leon*, *&c.* but now they are all concentred in one Crown; Adde herunto the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Calabria*, with the Duchy of *Milan*, which make up about the one moity of *Italy*. He is Lord of *Belgium*, or the *Netherland*; He hath *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, with other Islands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, and the Canaries, with divers other in the *Atlantik*. He hath sundry places up and down the Coasts of *Afrik*; He hath the *Moluccas* and *Philipina* Islands, which are without number in the *Indies*. It was the *Spanish* Navigation that refelld the Paradox, for which we read that a Bishop was once imprisond for a Heretik becaus he held ther were *Antipodes*.

O Immortal God! what an heroik and incomparable exploit was that of discovering and conquering the *West-Indies*, which counterbalanceth all the old world were they cast into a pair of scales! which mighty benediction was reservd by a special Providence for *Spain*. But what a world of dangers, doubts and difficulties did precede the work! On the one side the incertitude of the Thing, and the perils of the angry-tumbling Ocean did offer themselfs; On the other side the vast expences of the Viage, with despair of new provision when the old was spent; And in case they shold take footing on a new earth, the Clime might perhaps not agree with their bodies, and the Savages might prove stronger then they, as they were in number above a thousand for one. Tis tru, that such imaginations as these did much distract them a while; but at last their courage and constancy was such, that they broke through all these difficulties. And touching that huge mass of people in *America*, as a wild boistrous Boar taken within the toyls doth foam, struggle, and turn about to try all ways how he may get out, at last when all will not serve, and having wasted his spirits he lies down with quietness and despair, putting himself upon the mercy of the Huntsmen; so the wild *American* having tryed all ways of opposition, lay down at last succumbent and prostrat at the *Spaniards* feet; and for a reward of their indefatigable pains and prowess, the Divine Providence gave them afterwards Mines and Mountains of Tresure, yea, Rivers running with Gold, Seas full of Perl, with all sorts of Gems and precious stones; all kind

of

of Aromatik Spices, ſweet Woods, with a world of new Species of Birds, Beaſts, Plants and Fiſhes which *Europe* never knew.

But what Exchanges and recompence did *Spain* make to *America* for all this? Marry, ſhe affoorded her a far more precious Jewel, which was *Chriſtian Religion*, *Præ qua quiſquiliæ cætera*, In compariſon wherof all other things are but Bables: And what a world of pious pains did the *Spaniards* take to plant that Tree of Life among them? It is recorded by *Boterus* that one *Franciſcan* Fryar did baptiſe about 400000 Savages in the ſacred Laver of Regeneration; inſomuch that one may now travel thouſands of miles in *America*, and very frequently meet with Chriſtian Churches, Chappels, Monaſteries, Convents, Nunneries, Towns, Villages, Caſtles, Forts, or Bulwarks as he goes along.

What a coyle do the Hiſtorians keep about the Achievements of *Alexander* the Great? We well know that he ſubdued but part of *Aſia*; But here a new world is conquerd about thrice as big as whole *Aſia*: Therfore the Kings of *Spain* may be only ſaid to have done Miracles in ſteed of Exploits. And as God Almighty when He builds, creates no leſs then a World; when *He* is angry, ſends no leſs then an Univerſal Deluge; when *He* confers Grace, doth ſacrifice no leſs then the prime Son; when *He* rewards, gives no leſs then Paradis; when *He* wars, ſends no leſs then Legions of Angels, making alſo the Elements to fight, the Sea to open, and the Sun to ſtand: So, if Finite things may bear any proportion with Infinit, the Kings of *Spain* have bin deſignd to do mighty things, if not miracles: when They build, they build no leſs then an *Eſcurial*; if They are angry, they drive forth whole Nations, as the *Jews* and *Moors*; if they provide for the publick good, they ſacrifice no leſs then their own *Sons*; if they take Arms, they conquer not only whole Kingdoms, but new Worlds: inſomuch that the King of *Spain* may be, according to the Proverb, truly called *Rex Hominum*, the King of Men; wheras thoſe of *England* and *France* are calld, the firſt, *King of Devils*, the other King of Aſſes. It is the King of *Spain* alone to whom the *Gran Mogor* and *Sophy* uſe to ſend this ſuperſcription, *To the King who hath the Sun for his Helmet*; alluding to his vaſt Dominions in all parts of the world, and that the *Sun* doth always ſhine on ſome of them: beſides, it is no mean preeminence to the Catholik King, That God Almighty is ſervd every hour of the *Natural* Day in ſome of his Territories.

Therfore it can be no derogation from any other *Monark*, if for Glory and Amplitude of Dominions, for Men and Mines, for fulgor of Majeſty and Power, for Iſlands and Continents,

for a long Arm and Sword, the *Catholik* King be preferred before any other Prince or Potentat upon the Terrestrial Globe, take both the Hemispheres together.

Argum. 6.

Proving, That the King of Spain *may challenge Precedence for Nobleness of Family, as also for Royal Arms and Ensignes*, &c.

NObility among the Heralds is of two sorts, the one is of Parental Extraction and Blood, and this is rather our Progenitors then our own, being ingrafted or traduced unto us from them: Ther is another Nobility which is accidental, underivd or personal, and this comes either from abundance of Riches, or from excellency of Parts, or from the Merit and Glory of some great Exploit. The first proceeds from *Descent*, the other from *Desert*.

Now among other Prerogatives of Kings, one of the highest is, that they are the source and fountain of Nobility and Honor; Therfore no Vassal whatsoever, be he of never so ancient and illustrious extraction, is capable to compare with the King, though I am not ignorant that some of your *French Monsieurs* will vapor somtimes that way. Now, it contributs much to the honor of any Country to have a King of a long-lind Royal Race. There is a good Text which tells us, That *Beata Terra, cujus Rex nobilis est*; with another, *Quàm puchra est generatio cum claritate, Immortalis enim est memoria illius, quoniam, & apud Deum nota est, & apud Homines:* The Land is blessd whose King is Noble; How beutiful is a Generation with brightness! the memory therof is Immortal, because tis known with God and Men.

The Kingdome of *Spain* may glory to have had Kings of both the foresaid Nobilities, both *Progenial* derivd from their Predecessors, and *Personal* from their own Merit, and heroik perfections of Vertue, as Magnanimity and Fortitude, as Prudence and high Wisdome, as extraordinary Devotion and Sanctitie.

Touching the Royal Tree of the Genealogie of the Kings of *Spain*, we can fetch it from the Families of the *Amalis* and *Baltheis*, whence the Kings of the *Visigoths* and *Ostrogoths* descended above a thousand yeers since: Then from the glorious house of *Austria*, which may be calld a tru *Imperial Tree* by having produced so many Emperours that have continued in that stem above these two hundred years without interruption, which House began with *Theobarto* who came from *Sigebart* Duke of *Germany*, *Anno* 604.

Touching

Touching the *Shield-Enſignes* and the *Royal Arms* of the King of *Spain*, they are as noble as any; and it adds much to the Nobleneſs of a Kingdome to have noble *Arms*; which hath bin accounted no ſmall blemiſh to the Crown of *France*, whoſe ancient Arms were three *Toads* in a black field, though the ſignification of the Hieroglyphik makes ſome amends for it, which relates to the fruitfulneſs of *France*; for Toads chooſe always the fatteſt ſoyle, yet is he an ugly ſlow poyſonous creature, and abhorred by humane Nature. But upon the converſion of King *Clouis* to Chriſtianity, the *French* do vaunt that a Shield with three *Flower de Luces* of a Cærulean color fell down miraculouſly from Heven, (as *Numas* Shield did in *Rome*, and the *Palladium* did in *Troye*) which Arms *France* gives ever ſince. But the truth of that miracle is much queſtiond: for the greateſt Authors, as *Emilius*, *Gillius*, *Regimon*, and *Gregorius Turonenſis* in the Life of King *Clouis* makes no mention of any ſuch thing.

But grant that *France* hath reaſon to give the Lilies or Flower de Luces for her Royal Arms, yet *Spain* hath a nobler; for *Spain* gives the *Croſſe* in her Shield: For we know that many ancient and Authentik Writers affirm, how the *Cantabrians* or *Biſcayners* (who were left unconquerd by the *Romans*) carried a *Croſſe* in their Banner long before the Nativity of our Saviour; which *King Pelagius* carried when iſſuing forth of the great Cave calld *Cobadonga* to this day, with not much above 1000 *Chriſtians*, he utterly routed 60000 *Saracens*; to the memory wherof tis thought the great Church *Cangas* calld St. *Croſſes Church* was erected, where he lieth buried with a Croſſe ingraven upon his Tomb. And after *King Pelagius* who is calld the *Inſtaurator* of *Spain*, with other *Kings* had the Croſſe in their Banner. And *San Iſodorus*, who after St. *James* the Apoſtle is the Patron of *Spain*, always uſd it, who was a Biſhop and a Knight, ſo that whereſoever he is repreſented either in ſhadow or ſtone, he is painted in a Pontifical veſt, having the *Croſſe* in one hand, and the *Sword* in the other; and as the *Oriflambe* is the chiefeſt Banner of *France*, which is kept in the great Church of St. *Denis*; ſo in the great Church of *Leon* in *Spain* Saint *Iſodorus* Banner is devoutly kept up, which upon occaſion of urgent neceſſity was uſd by divers *Kings* to be brought to the Field againſt the *Saracens*, and afterwards againſt the *Moores*, wherby many glorious and wonderful Victories were obtaind.

Nor is the *Croſſe* the Enſigne onely of *Biſcay* and *Caſtile*, but alſo of *Arragon* and of *Navarre*; and the ground of it is related in *Beuter*, *Illeſcas*, and *Turapha* to be, that when *King Garcia Ximenez* was ready to fight a Battail againſt the *Saracens*, and that the Chriſtians under his command grew to be dejected and faint-hearted, ther appeerd in a green Tree a red *Croſſe* very reſplenent,

ſplendent, which ſtruck ſuch a comfort and courage, and made ſuch impreſſions in the heart of the fainty Soldiers, that they fell upon the Infidel-enemy with ſo great a reſolution, that they did utterly diſcomfit him; wherupon he was called *Rey de Sobrarbe*, becauſe that the holy Croſſe appeerd above a Tree.

Argum. 7.

Proving, That the Catholik King may claim Precedence becauſe he is King of Jeruſalem, *and that the Right of Unction belongs alſo to Him*, &c.

ALl Authors concede that in all ſolemn Pomps and publik Places, the firſt ſeat in the *Church* (after the Emperour) belongs to the *King* of *Jeruſalem*, as *Corſetus*, *Graſalius*, and others, do obſerve: And the Reaſons are many; Becauſe our Saviour preachd and ſufferd there; Becauſe he made choice of his Apoſtles and Diſciples there; Becauſe he wrought moſt Miracles there; Becauſe he converſd and had conference with Men there; Becauſe he inſtituted his laſt Supper there; Becauſe he did conſummat the Eternal Salvation of Mankind there, and becauſe he was buried there; with multitude of other Reaſons.

Now, that the *King* of *Spain* is right *King* of *Jeruſalem*, I beleeve ther are but few will deny it: for the *Holy Father* in all his Bulls, in his Apoſtolical Letters, and all publik ſpiritual Diſpatches, doth ſtile him *King of Jeruſalem*; and ſo doth the Conclave, the College of Cardinals, the *Rota*, or Judges of the Apoſtolik Chancery: And it is as cleer as the Meridian, that this Title is due to him as he is *King* of both the *Sicilies*, *viz.* of *Sicily*, *Calabria* and *Naples*, which appeers evident in all Annals and Chronicles; Although the *French* do cavil with him for a Right to thoſe *Kingdomes*, which *Valdeſius* and *Vaſquez* do ſufficiently anſwer, and refute.

Nor can it be denied but a double *Unction* belongs to him as he is *King* of both thoſe *Kingdomes*; wheras the *Kings* of *England* and *France* have but one *Unction* apeece relating to ſingle *Kingdomes*. Now, that *Kings* are to be anointed with holy Oyl, the ſacred Code tells us plainly; for it was the warrant which God Almighty himſelf, the *King* of Heven and Earth, gave unto the Prophet *Elias*, *Unges Aſachel Regem ſuper Syriam, & Jehu filium Namaſi unges Regem ſuper Iſrael: Thou ſhalt anoint Aſachel King over Syria, and thou ſhalt anoint Jehu King over Iſrael.* In another place he ſpeaks himſelf, *Inveni David ſervum meum, & oleo ſancto meo unxi eum: I have found David my ſervant, and with my holy Oyl have I anointed him.* Therfore *Kings* are called *Chriſts* upon earth, becauſe they are anointed by God: Nay,

Cyrus

Cyrus is calld *Christ* in this sense, as the Text saith, *Hæc dicit Dominus Cyro Christo ejus*; *Thus says God to Cyrus his Christ or his anointed.* One of the Prerogatives of the *Emperour* is, that he is to be anointed by the Pope himself; But Kings are anointed by their own Prelats. *Augustin de Ancona* gives the reason for this Ceremony, because Oyl signifieth gladness, and promptitude to debel the Enemies of the Church, to fight for the Orthodoxal Faith, and carry away Victories. Therupon at the celebration of the Olympik Games the Wrastlers were usd to be anointed, as the Poet sings:

Exercent Patrias Oleo labente Palestras
Nudati Socii——.

The holy King saith, *Dilexisti justitiam, & odisti iniquitatem, propterea unxit te Deus Oleo lætitiæ præ consortibus tuis: Thou hast loved justice, and hated iniquity, wherfore God hath anointed thee with the Oyl of gladness above thy fellows.* By Oyl also is understood cleerness of Conscience, as we read, *Prudentes Virgines acceperunt oleum in vasibus suis: The wise Virgins took oyl in their lamps.*

Now they are Hevenly wide of the truth who hold that these two Kings, *viz.* of *Jerusalem* and *Sicily*, with those of *England* and *France*, are only capable of holy Unction: For it belongs to all Kings; especially to the Catholik King, who is a mixt Person twixt Temporal and Spiritual, for he is *Canon of Burgos* as the *French* King is of a Church in *Poitou*; But the Kings of *Spain* have bin from all times anointed from the time of King *Vuamba*, and after him *Ervigius*: for the Text of the Council of *Toledo* saith plainly, *Serenissimus Ervigius Princeps Regni conscenderit Regni culmen, Regnandiq; per sacram Unctionem susceperit potestatem:* Most serene *Ervigius* Prince of the Kingdome shall ascend the top of the Kingdome, and by the holy Oyl take a power to raign. After these the Gothik Kings were also anointed from *Pelagius* downward. Therfore tis a pure Paradox, or rather a vulgar Error, that none but the four mentiond Kings are capable of holy Unction.

Argum. 8.

Proving, That the Catholik King may challenge Precedence becauſe of the free and abſolut Power he hath over his Dominions, and that he hath Empires under Him, &c.

IT mightily concerns Royal Dignity to have a whole Plenary Dominion and Rule, and not to be ſubordinat to any other Temporal Power whatſoever: Such an abſolut Dominion the Catholik *King* enjoys, and is entaild upon him by the Laws of the Land; though as a dutiful Son to the Church, out of pure Ideas of Devotion he is contented to be obedient unto his Mother in *ſpiritual* things.

Yet, ther are divers Tramontan Writers both *Italian* and *Germans*, who being devoted to the Emperour, wold make the *Kings* of *Spain*, *England* and *France* to acknowledg the Emperour, and they who do it not remain in no leſs then mortal ſin; And one of the main Arguments which they urge, is, That the Emperour *Sigiſmund* before the Council of *Conſtance* aſſembled, ſent his ſummons among other to *Ferdinand* King of *Aragon* to be there for the univerſal good of *Chriſtendome*. But herunto tis anſwerd, That the glorious Emperour *Charles* the fifth made a ſolemn Proteſtation, that he decreed nothing in *Spain* under the notion of Emperour: For though he had a double quality, yet, whatſoever he acted in *Spain* was ſingly as he was King therof. This ſignal *Diploma*, or publick Proteſtation is yet to be ſeen in the Archives of *Spain*, and is mentiond in the Hiſtory of *Pedro Mexia*, which runs thus.

Don Carlos por la gracia de Dios Rey de Romanos, futuro Emperador ſemper Auguſto, Rey de Caſtilla y de Leon, &c. En uno con la muy alta, y muy Poderoſa Reyna Donna Juana mi Sennora Madre.

Por quanto deſpues que plugo a la Divina Clementia (por la qual los Reyes reynan) que fueſſemos Eligidos Rey de Romanos futuro Emperador, y que de Rey Catholico de Eſpanna (con que eramos bien contentos) fueſſemos promovido al Imperio convino que nueſtros Titulos ſe ordenaſſen dando a cada uno ſu devido lugar; Fue neceſſario conformando nos con razon ſegun la qual el Imperio precede a las otras dignidades ſeglares por ſer la mas alta y ſublime dignidad que Dios inſtituyò en la Tierra, de preferir la dignidad Imperial a la Real, y de nombrarnos y intitularnos primero como Rey de Romanos y futuro Emperador que la dicha Reyna mi ſennora lo qual hizimos mas apremiado de neceſsidad que de razon, que por voluntad que dello tenemos, porque con toda reverencia,

y

y acatamiento la honramos, y deſſeamos honrar y acatar, Pues que demas cumplir el mandamiento de Dios a que ſomos obligados por Ella tenemos, y eſperamos tener tan gran ſuceſsion de Reynos y ſenorios como tenemos. Y porque de la dicha prelacion no ſe pueda Seguir ni cauſar perjuizio ni confuſion adelante a los nueſtros Reynos de Eſpanna, ni a los Reyes nueſtros Succeſſores, ni a los naturales ſus ſubditos que por tiempo fueren;

Por ende queremos que ſepan todos los que agora ſon, ò ſeran de aqui adelante, que nueſtra intencion, y voluntad es que la libertad, y exempcion que los dichos Reynos de Eſpanna, y Reyes dellos han tenido, y tienen, de que han gozado, y gozan de no reconocer Superior *les ſea agora, y de aqui adelante obſervada, y guardada inviolablemente, y que gozen de aquel eſtado,* &c.

Yo el Rey.

Thus rendred into Engliſh.

" *Don Carlos* by the grace of God King of the *Romans*, and fu-
" ture Emperour always Auguſt, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, *&c.*
" together with the moſt high and moſt mighty Dame *Joan* my
" Lady Mother.

" Wheras ſince it pleaſd the Divine Clemency, by which
" Kings raign, that we were elected King of the *Romans*, future
" Emperour, and from a Catholik King of *Spain*, (wherwith
" we were well contented) we were promoted to the Empire,
" it was convenient that our Titles ſhold be orderd giving evry
" one his due place; It was neceſſary (conforming our ſelfs to
" Reaſon, wherby the Empire precedes to other ſecular Digni-
" ties, it being the higheſt and moſt ſublime Dignity which
" God hath inſtituted on earth) to prefer the Imperial Dignity
" before the Kingly, and to name and intitle our ſelfs as Kings
" of the Romans and future Emperour before the ſaid Queen
" my Lady; which we did being preſſd more by neceſſity then
" by any willingneſs we have therunto, becauſe we honor and
" reſpect, and deſire to honor and reſpect Her with all reverence
" and duty, in regard that beſides the accompliſhing of Gods
" Commandment wherunto we are obligd, we hold by Her,
" and hope to hold ſo great a ſucceſſion to Kingdomes and Do-
" minions which we hold. And becauſe no prejudice or confu-
" ſion may enſue to our ſaid Kingdoms of *Spain*, nor to the Kings
" our Succeſſors, nor to the Native Subjects that ſhall be for
" the time,

" Therfore our deſire is, That all thoſe who now are, and
" ſhall be herafter, may know, That our intention and will that
" the Liberty and exemption which the ſaid Kingdoms of *Spain*
" and

" and their Kings have held and do hold, that they have enjoyd " or do enjoy; Not to acknowledge a Superior, be obſervd unto " Them now and heraſter, and be inviolably kept; And that " they enjoy the ſame liberty and ingenuity which at the time of " our promotion, and before they had and enjoyd, *&c.* And " our will is, that this Declaration have the force and vigor of a " Pragmatical Sanction, *&c.*

Given in the City of *Barcelona*, 5. *7bris.* 1519. *I the King.*

This Royal *Manifeſto*, or Pragmatical Sanction you ſee doth aſſert the abſolut and independent Authority of the Kings of *Spain*, and that they do not only renounce all ſubordinations, but are free from the leaſt acknowledgment to any Forren Power: inſomuch that it is enacted by the Laws of *Spain*, that to avoid the leaſt ſuſpition of any obedience to the *Empire*, the Civil *Roman* Law is not to be kept, or alledgd as Law. Nor indeed for driving out the *Saracens*, and other Infidels was *Spain* ever obligd to the Empire, or any other Extrinſik Power, but ſhe did it by the effuſion of her own blood, by the ſtrength and valour of her own Natives.

Moreover, the Kings of *Spain* are ſo far from any recognition of ſubjection to the Empire, or any outward power, that they themſelfs in former Ages have bin frequently called *Emperours* in publik Inſtruments, as Decretals, Acts of Councils, and Apoſtolical Epiſtles from *Rome*. Now if they did merit to be calld *Emperours* then, how much more is that Title adæquat to the Kings of *Spain* in theſe latter times, wherin they are grown to be Lords of above half of the whole Terreſtrial Globe?

Nor is the King of *Spain* thus exempt from all Forren extraneous Authority, but in point of intrinſecal and domeſtik Power he is as abſolut as any other: for it hath not bin found this hundred yeers that his Subjects did refuſe the payment of any Impoſitions, which have bin many in regard he wars with all the world who repine at his Greatneſs. Yet is he ſtill *Rex Hominum*, a King of Men, *viz.* of Free Subjects, and not a *King* of *Aſinigos*, as his next Neighbour is calld.

Argum. 9.

Argum. 9.

Proving, That the King of Spain *may claim Precedence because he hath bin ſo obſequious a Son, and done ſuch great Offices to the Chriſtian Church.*

THer are three Offices which all Chriſtian Kings are bound to perform towards the holy Church.

The firſt is, To obey the Precepts, Canons and Injunctions of the Church, though it be only by an humble implicit Faith.

The ſecond is, To protect and defend the holy Church not only from Infidels, and open Enemies, but from Heretiks and Sciſmatiks.

The third is, To erect Temples and decent Domes of Devotion for the ſervice and worſhip of God, and to bewtifie and enrich them accordingly with Rents and Ornaments.

The Kings of *Spain* have bin more renownd for theſe three then any in *Chriſtendome*. Touching the firſt, Ther is no King or Souverain Prince whatſoever hath bin or is ſo exactly obedient to the Canonical Laws, and the Conſtitutions, Commands and Sanctions of the Church, as the Catholik King is known to be. Ther are no Kings that do more *Corporal Penances* when they are laid upon them by their Ghoſtly Fathers: For that Penitential Whip which *Charles* the Fifth uſd, and left all beſmeard with his own Blood, is uſd often by this King, wherby he mingles his Blood with that of his great Granfather, beſides that of his Granfather and Father; which Penitential Whip is the moſt precious Legacie that the Kings of *Spain* uſe to leave their Sons upon their Death-beds, and is like ſo to continue to all Poſterity.

Touching the ſecond Office for protecting the holy Church as well from Apoſtats and Sciſmatiks as from open Enemies, I may well ſay without any derogation, that ther is no King comparable to the Catholik King. *Spain* did cleer her ſelf with admired Valour and Prudence of three Nations that were enemies to the Chriſtian Church, *viz.* the *Saracens*, the *Moors*, and the *Jews*: And the Catholik King always bore ſuch a high reverence to the holy Church, that they never got any conſiderable Victory but they ſent the Trophies therof to the Vicar of Chriſt. I will produce one ſignal example: When King *Albohazin Belamarin* had invaded *Spain* with a mighty Fleet, tranſporting 20000 Horſe, and 400000 Foot, the King of *Granada*

joyning with him alſo, with all the *Moriſcos* that were yet left in *Spain*, He firſt beſiegd *Tarifa*; but *Alfonſo* the eleventh King of *Caſtile*, with *Alfonſo* King of *Portugal* did comport themſelfs with ſuch admired Courage and Magnanimity, having no Auxiliaries from any other Chriſtian Nation, but a pure Army of *Spaniards*, that they obtaind a wonderful and glorious Victory; ſo that above 200000 *Moors* were deſtroyed in fight and flight, the reſt made all ſlaves, as *Mariana* and *Zurita* make particular mention in their Chronicles. As ſoon as the triumphs for ſo bleſſd a Victory were ended in *Spain*, King *Alfonſo* ſent a ſplendid Embaſſy by Don *Juan de Leiva* to Pope *Benedict* 11. then keeping the Apoſtolik Seat at *Avignon* in *France*; which Ambaſſador preſented his Holineſs with a great Banner, and four and twenty of the chieſeſt Colours they had taken from the *Moors*. Ther were preſented beſides 100 Barb Horſes with rich ſaddles, wherunto Shields, Swords and Javelins were hung, and evry horſe had a *Moriſco* ſlave to attend him. Then the very Ginet wheron King *Alfonſo* himſelf did ride when he got the Field, was preſented with rich Capariſons embroderd with Perl. The Pope having notice herof, ſent all the Cardinals, with a great number of Prelats to meet the Ambaſſador; who being conducted to the Pope, he deſcended from the Pontifical Throne, and taking the Kings Banner into his hands, he ſang with a loud voice, *Vexilla Regis prodeunt, Fulget Chriſti myſterium:* ſo making a pathetik elegant ſpeech of ſo glorious an Exploit, they went all to the great Church to give God the glory, where the ſaid Colours, Enſignes and Shields were hung up.

I could bring many inſtances more of this nature, how highly reſpectful the Catholik Kings have bin always of the holy Church, and of her chief Governor in all Ages; and how ready they have bin to ſacrifice their bloods in defence of her. But let us go to theſe modern times, we know that his Catholik Majeſty is in perpetual feud with the Common Enemy the *Turk*, and how he ſtill diſdaind to make a Peace with him though often wooed therunto, wheras other Kings make not only a Peace but Confederacies with him ever and anon. We know what a proteſtd eager Enemy the Catholik King is to all Heretiks, how he ſuffers none to breathe in his Dominions; How ready he is always to ſuppreſs them in defence of the Catholik Church, and St. *Peters* Chair, which by the ſupplantings and Machinations of the late Apoſtats had quite fallen down, unleſs the Catholik King had reachd his arms to ſupport and bear it up.

Touching the third Office of a Chriſtian King, which is to erect Temples, and hanſome places for the worſhip of Almighty God, no Kings have bin more pious and munificent in that kind: Witneſs that mighty Monument the Royal Monaſtery of St.

Laurence

Laurence at the *Escurial*, a Monument built to Eternity, and to tug with the Iron teeth of time, as the thickness and solidity of the walls do shew. This one stupendous Monument of Piety, which is worthily accounted the eighth Wonder of the World, wold afford matter for one entire Volume of it self: Let it suffice to know here that it cost above twenty Millions the building: It was twenty years before it was finishd; yet the Founder *Philip* the second, of eternal memory, enjoyd it twelve yeers after, and at last carried his own bones to be interrd in that glorious *Pantheon* he had expresly causd to be built for that use. What a world of Religious Houses did this pious Prince erect besides! for in *Europe* and *America* he built upon his own charge above a hundred Churches, Monasteries, and Hospitals. Now, it is a great matter for other Kings if they build a College, or Chappel, and are prayed for as great Benefactors; then I pray what Prayers and Praises doth such a King deserve as *Philip the Prudent* was!

Argum. 10.

Proving, That the King of Spain *may claim Precedence because the Catholik Church hath and doth receave greater Protection and Emoluments from Him then from any other Prince.*

IT is recorded, That when Pope *Gregory* the thirteenth was sick, it was told him that he was much prayed for, in regard his Life so much concernd the welfare of the Church: He answerd, *Helas, the prolongation of my Life can little avail the Catholik Church; but pray for the health of King* Philip, *for his Life concerns Her more.*

Now, *Spain* hath been always renowned not only for protecting of the Church, and conquering of Infidels, but also for converting of Hereticks. VVe know that *Osius* Bishop of *Corduba* had the chiefest hand in the conversion of *Constantin* the Great, after his Mother *Helena* a *British* Lady, from whom he had sucked Christian milk at first, though twas not concocted to good blood until *Osius* did it. What great favours and indulgence did the poor persecuted Christians receave from *Trajan*, from *Elius Hadrianus*, from *Antoninus Pius*, from *Theodosius*? all *Spanish* Emperours in the time of the ten Persecutions. How strongly did *Spain* tug with the *Arrian* Heresie till she was quite put upon her back, and at last converted? The *Albigenses* in *France* who had such nefarious, and indeed nefandous Principles, As that it was lawful to destroy Churches, To pull down Crosses, To have Wives in common, That the Humane Soul was of Gods making,

king, but the Body of the Devils, *&c.* I ſay, that theſe ugly Heretiks were principally converted by St. *Dominik* and by *Didacus*, (*Epiſcopus Oximenſis*) both of them being *Spaniards*, and ſent by Pope *Innocent* 3. expreſly for that ſervice in the raign of *Lewis* 7. of *France*; wherin alſo *Blanche* Queen of *Spain* took much pains with great ſucceſs. How much did *Charles* the fifth labour to quell *Luther*, and to cruſh the Cocatrice in the ſhell! which cauſd this Diſtik to be made in thoſe times of him, and *Henry* the Eighth of *England*:

Carolus, Henricus, Chriſti Defenſor uterq;
Henricus Fidei, Carolus Eccleſiæ.

Charles and *Henry* both Defendors of Chriſt;
Charles of his Church, *Henry* of his Faith.

And *Spain* is ſo zelous a Chriſtian, that tis not only ſufficient for her to abſtain from Hereſie, but from the very ſuſpition therof; which made her to erect, and raiſe up that wall of braſs againſt it, I mean the Tribunal of the *Inquiſition*. By which ſacred Office the Vineyard of the Lord in the *Spaniſh* Dominions is kept free from brambles and thorns, with all noiſome weeds; Tis preſerv'd and hedgd therby from all wild ravenous Beaſts that ſo much annoy *her* in other Kingdomes, and ſet fire on her skirts ſo often, which *Spain* by the moſt prudent and pious eſtabliſhment of this holy Office is ſo happily made free.

Moreover, ther have bin no Kings ſo eminently liberal, and munificent to the holy Houſe of God, together with their Governors and Miniſters, as the Kings of *Spain* have bin in all Ages; inſomuch that a computation hath bin made, that well neer the third part of *Spain* are ſpiritual Revenues, and the third part of the Churches have bin founded by Kings. The Archbiſhop of *Toledo* is the greateſt Eccleſiaſtical Dignity in Chriſtendome next the *Papacy*; for it hath above 300000 Crowns annual Revenues, which countervails three of the beſt Archbiſhopriks in *France*. Nor have the *Catholik* Kings thought it any derogation to make their Sons Archbiſhops of that *place*, and Chancellors of *Caſtile*.

Furthermore, ther hath bin a late calculation made, That of thoſe five or ſix hundred Millions of Treſure that hath bin tranſported to *Spain* from *Mexico* and *Peru* ſince the diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, the Church hath the tenth part; inſomuch that in ſome petty Rural Churches one ſhall ſee huge maſſie Candleſticks of Silver, with large Chalices, Pixes, Croſſes and Crucifixes, ſome of them of maſſie Gold, and inlaid with precious ſtones. Nor is this Treſure loſt that is given the *Church*; For the

the Clergie of *Spain* have bin always ready to ſerve and aſſiſt their *King* in all his exigents and neceſſities: inſomuch that it is a ſaying in *Spain*, That *los teſoros de la ygleſia ſon como anchoras contra una tormenta*, The treſures of the Church are as anchors againſt a ſtorm.

Adde herunto that no *Kings* of *Spain* have felt the fulminations of the *Vatican, viz.* the ſentence of *Excommunication*, as other *Kings* have done; But they have always obeyd with much exactneſs the Doctrine of the holy Church, reſigning their Intellectuals, and the whole inward man to the determinations therof; as alſo to defend them againſt all Oppoſers; wheras divers *French Kings* have had claſhes, and frequent conteſtations with the holy Father. What high feuds had *Philippe le Bel* with Pope *Boniface* 8! for he paſſd an Edict of Interdiction, that none of his Eccleſiaſtiks ſhold have commerce with *Rome*: He obeyd not the Pontificial cenſures, but toar his Letters, detaind his Legats, and convoqud a Provincial Council in *Paris* againſt his order, wherin ther were Accuſations of Simony and Schiſm obtruded againſt him. But all this while the *Kings* of *Caſtile* and *Aragon* adherd to his *Holineſs* as being the Head and Common Father of the *Catholik Church*.

Lewis the eleventh of *France* againſt the Eccleſiaſtical Liberties did inſtitut the Pragmatical Sanction, enforcing the Pope to aſſent therunto, wherby all the Canonical Laws and Diſcipline fell in *France*, as *Mauſonius* obſerves.

Charles 8. enterd *Rome* againſt the Popes will, and did as good as war with him, as with an enemy, but the Catholik King *Ferdinand* 5. adherd to him to very good purpoſe.

Touching *Lewis* 12. what a bitter enemy he was to the Apoſtolik ſeat! what troubles he excited againſt *Julius* 2. which gave the firſt countenance and riſe to thoſe Hereſies that have pullulated in the Church, and ſo miſerably torn the very Bowels of her ever ſince!

Philip 2. of *France* repudiating his lawful Wife, mārried another not only without the conſent of *Celeſtin*, the holy Father, but againſt the opinion of his own Eccleſiaſtiks, whom he handled with ſo much rigor and tyranny.

Philip the firſt of *France* did no leſs bandy againſt the Decrees of the Church in divers things, and did likewiſe caſt off his Legitimat Wife, and forcd another.

Lewis 6. of *France* did ſo perſecut the holy Church, that he drew *Anathemas* and ſpiritual Execrations upon him.

Lewis 7. of *France* had ſuch contentions with Pope *Innocent* 2. that he remaind under the heavy ſentence of Excommunication three full yeers.

Charles le Bel was so highly disobedient to Pope *John* 23. that he interdicted to pay him his Tenths, and other Ecclesiastik Rights.

Francis 1. and *Hen.* 2. of *France* to their eternal reproach calld in the *Turk* to their assistance against the Christian Emperour. Of all which particulars ther are Authentik Historians who make mention, and leave it upon record to all Posterity.

But the *French* speak very loud how *Charles* the fifth raisd such a fierce war against *Clement* 7. that he beliegd *Rome*, and made the Pope prisoner. Tis confessd, but it was upon a pure temporal score; yet he resented it so much, that it drew repentance from him; nor did he grieve a whit that his General the Duke of *Bourbon* was killd as he was scaling the walls of *Rome*, because he had exceeded his commission: Nor when the news came to *Spain* of the succes of the Emperours Army, was any joy of triumph shewd at all, but rather a dark sadnes, and all the signes of sorrow, which possessd him to his dying day; And for a compensation to the *Holy Father*, he establishd his *Nephew* in the State of *Florence*.

Thus have we collected the Reasons and Arguments of these three great Monarks in order to a Precedence of Place, and Superiority. Concerning the Reasons of the two latter, they are excerpted, drawn and deprompted out of the eminentst Authors who have written in their behalf; and that with such fidelity and truth, as the Majesty of so high a subject doth require, not omitting any Argument that had weight in it.

Touching the competition twixt other Souverain Princes, as that twixt the King of *Denmark* and Him of *Sweden*, who both entitle themselfs Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*; as also *that* twixt the *Portugues* and the *Pole*; Twixt the Republiks of *Venice* and *Genoa*, who both pretend to be *Teste Coronate*, to be

Crowned

Crowned Heads, becauſe the one had the Kingdome of *Cyprus*, the other hath that of *Corſica* under her Dominion; as likewiſe the old Competition twixt the Duke of *Savoy*, and Him of *Milan*, (which is now drownd in the Spaniſh Titles) Nor of the Princes of *Germany*; I ſay, that the Diſputes of theſe *Precedencies* do not belong to this preſent Diſcourſe.

Ther are alſo divers other Competitions twixt *Cities* as well as Souvrain Princes, as twixt *Milan* and *Ravenna* in *Italy*; twixt *Strasburg* and *Norimburg* in *Germany*; twixt *Toledo* & *Burgos* in *Spain*, which *Philip* 2. did in ſome meſure reconcile: For when in a Parlement (which they call *Las Cortes*) ther was a high feud twixt theſe two Cities, whoſe Bourgeſſe ſhold ſpeak firſt; the King ſtood up and ſaid, *Hable Burgos, que por Toledo hablare yo*; Let *Burgos* ſpeak, for *Toledo* I will ſpeak my ſelf.

The like Competition is in *England* for Precedence twixt *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, which hath bin often debated in Parlement, though *Oxford* had always the better, becauſe ſhe is namd firſt in all *Acts* of Parlement for Subſidies. Nor indeed hath *Cambridge* reaſon to contend in this point, if *Antiquity* take place, and *Antiquity* is a good argument; for *Lucian* will tell us, that when ther was a Conteſt in Heven twixt *Eſculapius* and *Hercules* for Precedence, *Eſculapius* carried it, becauſe he came firſt thither. Therfore *Cambridge* need not be offended with the Poet when he ſung,

Hyſteron & Proteron præpoſtera forma loquendi,
Exempli cauſa Cant'brigia Oxonium.

Ther's alſo another Argument for *Oxford* drawn *ab Ety-*

Etymologia, which the Philoſopher tells us is a good way of arguing, *viz.* Ther was an *Ox* and a *Ford*, then *Came* a *Bridge*. But theſe two Noble Siſters as they are *unparallelld* by any other in their kind, let them be *equal* among themſelfs, and liſten unto the Poet,

Siſters, why ſtrive you for Antiquity?
The older ſtill the likelier for to die;

Wold you wiſh your own ruine? ſurely no,

Let Mouldring Age on meaner things take hold,
But may You *floriſh ſtill, and nere grow old.*

And let this be a Cloſe to the Third Section.

The

The fourth, & last Section,

CONTAINING

A DISCOURSE OF AMBASSADORS.

THer is a good Rule in the Schools, *Qui bene dividit bene docet:* Therfore we will make this Fourth Section to conform and quadrat with the other Three in point of *Division*. It shall also be a *Decade* with the rest; and as ther is Affinity of *Matter* betwixt them, so ther shall be affinity of *Method*; For it shall likewise consist of ten Parts or Paragraphs.

1. The first shall be of the derivation and Etymologie of this word *Ambassador*; with the Definition, Division and Denomination of Ambassadors and Legats.

2. The second shall be of the indispensable and absolut necessity of Ambassadors, and that Mankind cannot subsist without Them.

3. Of the Antiquity, the first Rise and Pedigree of Ambassadors; as also of their Dignity, high Honor and Pre-eminence, and who are capable to employ them.

4. Of their Privileges, Reception, Security, and the inviolable sacred esteem of their *Persons*.

5. Of the Breeding and Education, the Parts

and Perfections both acquird and natural which are requird in an Ambaſſador.

6. Of the Election and choice of an Ambaſſador, that he ſhould be *Par Negotio*, adæquat to the Employment he goes about.

7. Of the Office and Duty of an Ambaſſador in the execution of his Place, and acquitting Himſelf of the great Fiduciary Truſt repoſd in Him.

8. Of the Laws of *England* relating to Ambaſſadors, how they uſe to be receavd, and treated in the Engliſh Court, and what Rewards they receave, *&c.*

9. Of the wiſe Comportment, and witty Sayings of divers Ambaſſadors during the time of their Negotiation.

10. Of the extraordinary Prudence and Reſervedneſs, the Stoutneſs and Generoſity of divers Engliſh Ambaſſadors, *&c.*

THer are many Authors who have made it their buſineſs to write of Ambaſſadors, and of their Office, Incumbency and Charge; as alſo of their Qualities, Breeding, and ſutable Parts. They have moreover undertaken to preſcribe them Rules, Precepts and Cautions; but thoſe *Precepts* may fit any other Miniſter of State, or Magiſtrat, and ſo they amuſe the Reader with Univerſals. But this Diſcourſe ſhall keep cloſe to the Perſon of the *Ambaſſador*, and to the Nature of his Function, Office and Duty. And ſo we will take the firſt Paragraph in hand.

1. Paragraph,

1 Paragraph,

Touching the derivation and Etymologie of this word Ambassador; *With the Definition, Division, and Denomination of Ambassadors and Legats.*

NEither Don *Antonio de Zuniga* the Spaniard, nor Doctor *Gasparo Bragaccia* the Italian, with divers others who have written so largely of an *Ambassador*, do let us know what the *Word* is, either *Ambassadeur*, *Ambasciatore*, *Embaxador*, or *Ambascia*. Now we find them all to be of great Antiquity, for they are derivd of an old *Celtik* or *Gaulish* word; which *Celtiks* were before the *Greeks* or *Latins*, a Peeple that dwelt where *Paris* in *France* now stands, being calld so before the *Romans* or the *Franconians* came in. Now *Embassy* or *Ambascy* comes of *Ambachten*, which is to work; and *Ambacht* was a servant in the old *Gaulik* or *Celtik* toung, whereunto alludes *Bachken*, usd yet in *Wales* for a servant; wherby among divers other Arguments it is very probable that the ancient *Gaules* and *Britains* spake one Language originally; From hence came *Ambactus* which *Tacitus* useth, when he saith, That *Galli plurimos circum se Ambactos Clientesq; habent.* So that *Ambasciator* derivd hence, is come now to be a servant, or Minister of honor; for in some Translations we have *Paulus Dei gratia Diaconus*, *& Ambasciator:* Insomuch that it may well extend to the holy Function of *Priests:* For the Minister on the Desk may be said to be the *Peeples Ambassador* to God, and in the Pulpit *Gods Ambassador* to the Peeple. But the Italians wold have *Ambasciatore* to come from the old *Hetruscan* word *Bascer*, which signifidth *nunciare*, to report or declare. Others have a conceit that it may come from the word *Ambo*, because he is a Mediator twixt both Parties.

Now, touching the Definition of an Ambassador, or Legat, Don *Antonio de Zuniga*, defines him thus: *A Legat or Ambassador is a Conciliator of the Affairs of Princes; A Man sent from far to treat of publik Concernments by particular Election, not by strength and stratagems of War, but by Eloquence and force of Wit.* Others define him to be *a Subject who resembleth a Mediator of Love.* Concerning the word *Legat*, *Besoldus* tells us in brief, that *He is one who is sent to deliver the Commands of another:* but none of these can be calld properly *Definitions* according to the Rules of Logik, but *Descriptions.* They are calld sometimes *Orators*, from *Oracion*, or the fluency of the Toung, which is the chiefest tool of an *Ambassador.* They are calld also *Nuncii*, because they come to declare and tell. Now, *Nuncii* and *Legats* are of late Ages they whom the *Popa* sends, whose Ministers of this kind have a mixt employment

ployment twixt Spiritual and Secular. *Legats* are of three sorts, ther is *Legatus Natus*, *Legatus Missus*, and *Legatus à Latere*: The first hath a perpetual succeſſif Legantine Power, as the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* in *England*, is endowed with that Prerogative as a Dignity annexd to the Archbiſhoprik above 1000 years ſince; therfore ther can no other Legats come to *England* without the Kings ſpecial conſent: wherupon one of the Articles againſt Cardinal *Wolſey* was, That he exerciſed a Legantine Power in *England* without the Kings privity. Then ther is *Legatus Miſſus*, and he ſignifieth as much as an ordinary *Nuncio*. Then ther is *Legatus à Latere*, or *Apoſtolical Nuncio*, who is deſumd out of the number of *Cardinals* only, and they are ſometimes Governors of Provinces, or calld *Pro-conſuls*; and they are calld *Legati de Latere*, becauſe they are neereſt the ſide, and the greateſt Confidents of the Pope.

We may read in *Juſtine* that Ambaſſadors by ſome are calld *Lenones* Bawds, (but taken in a chaſt ſenſe) becauſe by ſmooth and alluring Language they move the affections of the Prince to whom they are ſent. The *Greeks* call their Ambaſſadors πρεσβίας, becauſe they ought to be of yeers, and well ſalted in the world. Ther are alſo Deputies and Commiſſaries who have the ſame Office as Ambaſſadors; but the Civilians make this difference betwixt them, that Ambaſſadors are ſent to Equals, Deputies to Superiors, and Commiſſaries to Inferiors.

Ther is alſo a publik Miniſter of State calld *Agent*; and he is ſent when ther is a ſuſpition that the *Ambaſſador* will not be honord as he ſhold be. Therfore the *French* Kings of late yeers have no *Ambaſſadors* in the Emperors Court, but *Agents*, becauſe of the Competition for *Precedence* twixt him and *Spain*. Agents are likewiſe employd ſometimes to ſave charges, or that the Buſineſs may be done without noiſe. And of late yeers ther is a new Miniſter of State invented, which is a *Reſident*, who is ſuperiour to an *Agent*, and inferiour to an *Ambaſſador*. Both *Agent* and *Reſident* have the *Security*, though not the Seſſion and ſtate, or ſuch a latitude of power as Ambaſſadors have: Now, *Agents* may diſpatch Buſineſſes of as great conſequence as Ambaſſadors, though they do it more ſecretly, and with leſſe ſtir. Therfore *Hottoman* ſaith, That the Queen of *England*, and the Princes of *Germany* had *des Agens Secrets* in *Venice*, becauſe that in regard of diverſity of Religion, the Senat wold not ſeem to make too ſtrict a frendſhip with them; and for theſe ſecret Employments *Merchants* have bin thought to be the fitteſt Inſtruments, becauſe under the cloak of Trading they may alſo hide Affairs of State.

Ther are alſo *Heralds* which are a ſort of Ambaſſadors, and they are very ancient; They are calld *Caduceatores*, whoſe Office is

is to denounce War: for such was the open honesty of our Ancestors, that they would not commence a War until they had sent notice of it in a convenient time beforehand; and these had also the security of *Ambassadors* for the time, but they were strictly tied to the very same words that were dictated unto them. Their persons also are to be as free from any outrage as Ambassadors are, which made the Earl of *Essex* check his soldiers in *Keinton*-field when the late King sent Sir *William le Neve* King of Arms the next morning after the Battail was fought; who wold have outragd Him. Ther are also other Ministers of State that draw neer to the nature of *Ambassadors*, which are calld *Consuls*, wherof some have Royal Commission, though the nature of their Office be to protect and assist the Merchant, being practisd in the Custome and Language of the Country, in their Law-suits; and ther is as much esteem had of these as of *Agents*: Of these *England* hath more then any, and they are allowd very noble allowance; as he of *Aleppo* hath 4000 Dollars yeerly, and they of *Smyrna* and *Mosco* little less: but if ther be an Ambassador in that Dominion where they serve, they are subordinat to his commands in divers things.

We will conclude this Paragraph with this distinction of *Ambassadors*, That some are extraordinary or *pro tempore* employd upon some particular great Affairs, or Condolements, or Congratulations, or for Overtures of Marriage, *&c.* and they use to go with greater lustre and magnificence, and may return without sending for leave, unless ther be a restraining clause in their Commission. The other are Ordinary or Lidger *Ambassadors* commanded to *reside* in the place until they receave Letters of Revocation; and as their time of return is indefinit, so their business is incertain, arising out of emergent occasions, and commonly the protection and affairs of the Merchants is their greatest care. But *Albericus Gentilis*, with all the great Civilians, alledge that these kinde of *Ambassadors* were not known but of late yeers, and *Paschalius* calls them no better then Emissaries, Explorators or Spyes, which made *Hen.* 7. of *England*, as he saith, admit of none.

The second Paragraph,

Of the absolut and indispensable necessity of Ambassadors, and that Mankind cannot subsist without them.

IF it were not for Ambassadors Wars wold be endless, and Enmities everlasting; Ther wold be no knowledg, no frendship among Princes, nor commerce among Nations. *Brunus* says, That among all Functions, all Offices and Employments of a Commonwealth, ther is none more necessary, more difficult, more honorable, and that requires greater discretion, sagacity and caution, then that of an *Ambassador:* but as it is accompanied with honor and profit, so it is with danger and hazard. Ambassadors are the emissitious Eyes of a Prince, they are his ears and hands, they are his very understanding and reason, they are his breath and voice; in contemplation wherof the Poet sings that an Ambassador is

——— Vox Regum, lingua salutis,
Fœderis Orator, pacis via, Terminus iræ,
Semen Amicitiæ, Belli fuga, litibus hostis.

It is observd in all stories, and confirmd by multitude of examples, that the Interview and encounter of Kings hath bin rather a disadvantage then an advance to any great business, specially in treating of Capitulations of Peace. Therfore in the Politiks tis a Principle, that in Colloquies for Pacification Princes shold not appeer in person, but be represented by their Ambassadors and Commissaries. A Journey to be performd by Kings requires much trouble and charges; much ado ther is in fitting their train, that they may appeer in a fitting equippage; all which consumes time, as also what high ceremonies are to be usd in so solemn an action. *Philip Comines*, who always dismisseth his Readers wiser then they came, gives special Cautions for this, Affirming that the congres of Souverain Princes in regard of the various circumstances that attend it, is a meer folly; it is expos'd to emulation, jelousies, and envy, as also to delays, and retarding of things by needless solemnities. He makes an instance in the personal Encounter which the Kings of *England* and *France* had, (where it is observable that he puts *England* before *France*) adding further, that *Lewis* the eleventh though a politik wise King, was much afraid before-hand that some word might slip from him which might give offence, or some advantage to the King of *England*, or his Ministers; Herunto he adds an infortunat Journey that the King of *Portugal* made to the said King

King *Lewis* for assistance against the *Castilians*, which perhaps he might have procurd by a discreet Ambassador, which makes him give a caution touching this point. *Bien tard un Prince se doit mettre soubs la main d'un autre, ni aller cercher son secours en personne:* A Prince shold hardly put himself under the hands of another, or go seek aid of him in person. *Paulus Emilius* also describing the personal meeting that was between King *Richard* of *England* and *Philip Augustus* of *France*, (who also in the relation puts him of *England* before *France*) saith, that their often Conversation and Colloquies did much retard and disadvantage the great business of an Expedition to the Holy Land.

We will adde herunto the memorable example twixt *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, and *Uladislaus* King of *Bohemia*, who after a long War were to meet for concluding a peace in *Olmutts* in *Moravia*, where *Matthias* (meerly out of state) made *Uladislaus* stay for him 15 days; Moreover, *Matthias* came with a green Garland about his temples in policy that he might not uncover his head: *Uladislaus* therupon causd his Cap to be so girded and knotted about that it could not be taken off.

———*Sic Ars deluditur arte.*

But ther is a Modern Example far more pregnant then any of these, of *Charles* the first King of *England*, whose Journey to the Court of *Spain*, though the designe was Princely and Noble in it self, for it was to endear himself the more to the Lady *Infanta*; yet it provd very disadvantagious, for it distracted and retarded the whole business both of *Match* and restitution of the *Palatinat*, when by the negotiation of Ambassadors it had bin brought to such a passe of perfection, that it had taken effect had not the Prince come thither, which gave occasion for the two great Favorits *Buckingham* and *Olivares* to clash one with another, which broke the neck of so great a Business that had bin a moulding above ten yeers; which had it bin left to the sole management of Ambassadors, had in all probability bin consummated.

Thus we see how absolutly requisit and necessary, how advantagious and essential *Ambassadors* are to a Kingdom or Commonwealth; which made the *Roman* Orator say, *Sentio Legatorum munus tum Hominum Præsidio munitum esse, tum etiam Divino Jure circumvallatum:* I hold the function of Ambassadors to be fencd by mens power, and fortified by Divine right. We will conclude with a Cannon of the Civilians, *Legatorum munus perquam utile est, ac perquam necessarium:* The Office of Ambassadors is most profitable, and most necessary; which makes the *Spaniards* call it *Santo Officio y Ministerio de los Angeles*, The holy Office and Ministry of Angells.

The

The third Paragraph,

Of the Antiquity, the first Rise and Pedigree of Ambassadors; as also of their Dignity, high Honor and Pre-eminence, and who are capable to qualifie, and employ Ambassadors.

FRom the *Necessity* of Ambassadors we will proceed to their *Antiquity*; and surely they must needs be very ancient if they are so necessary.

Some draw their antiquity from *Belus* the Father of *Ninus*; but *Josephus* makes them more ancient, and refers their Original to God Himself, who was pleasd to create the *Angels* for this Ministry; Therfore *Embassy* in *Greek* is calld Ἀγγελία, as being derivd by imitation from the Hierarchy of Angels, who are made the Ambassadors of the great King of Heven upon extraordinary occasions, either for revelation of the successe of Kingdoms, as the *Archangel Gabriel* was to *Daniel*; Or for the declaring of some rare and signal thing, as *He* was sent also to the Blessed Virgin of the Conception of our *Saviour*, *&c.* Now, ther is no Order or Goverment in this lower World as well Ecclesiastical as Secular but it is had from the Pattern of the higher, in regard that God Almighty created the Elementary World, and appointed the Goverment therof to conform with the Architype and chief Pattern, or Ideal Form of the same conceavd at first in the Divine mind, and prescribd to the *Hevenly* Kingdome.

Herunto alludes the Fiction of the ancient Pagans; For *Aristides* tels us, that in the first Age of the World, wheras Mankind was infected by Brute Animals, wherof some were far stronger, others swifter, others were Venemous, which made Mankind become often a prey to Birds, to Beasts and Serpents, *Prometheus* being sollicitous and studious for the safety of the humane Creture, became Ambassador, or Orator to *Jupiter* for declaring the misery of Mankinde; Herupon *Jupiter* resolvd to send his son *Mercury* to teach Man Rhetorik, that is, to speak well and movingly; but with this restriction, that he shold not communicat this Art to all, but to the excellentst, the wisest and valiantst sort of men: By means herof they came down from the mountains, and forth out of Caves and places of fastnes, and by means of that Art of Rhetorik or Eloquence they united themselfs to civil Societies and coalitions. Hence it may be inferrd that *Mercury* the God of Eloquence was the first *Ambassador*, and he is painted with wings on his heels to denote expedition; Besides, he carrieth a white Wand calld *Caducem* in his hand, encircled with two Dragons greeting one another, which signifieth that his

Office

Office is to make Peace, Alliances and Legues, as also to denounce VVar, which is intimated by the immanity of the Dragon. Having thus displayed the *Antiquity*, we come now to the *Honor* of Ambassadors; and questionless they must needs be very *honorable* being so *ancient*.

Royalty may be said, without prophaness, to be a Ray of *Divinity*; and *Honor* is a Ray of *Royalty*; The first is derivd immediatly from Heven, the other from Earthly Kings, who are calld the Fountains of *Honor*. Now, the reflections of this second *Ray* falls no where so directly as upon *Ambassadors*, who represent and personat Souverain Princes, which makes their Houses Sanctuaries, and their Persons so sacred, inviolable and excellent: and they have this high honor given them not only for their own sakes, and their Masters, but as they are Instruments of so universal good, as suppressing of Wars by making Peace, Frendship and Concord; or for the advancement of Commerce and Frendship.

Now, it adds much to the *Honor* of *Ambassadors* that none can send any under that Title unless he be a Souverain Prince: Ther is no subject capable to send or receave any *Ambassador*, be he never so great a *Viceroy*; if he do, it is no less then High Treson. Therfore before the beginning of the last Civil Wars in *England*, it was Treson in the highest degree for the *Scots Inconsulto Principe*, to send *Lowden* and others in quality of privat Clancular Commissioners to treat with the *French* King in the name of the whole Nation for assistance. And though the King himself made a semblance not to admit or hear them, yet his fiery *Cardinal* huggd them; whence it may be well said the first flames of the said VVars broke out.

It is recorded in the Life of *Eliz.* Queen of *England*, that the Duke of *Alva* when he was Governor of *Flanders* sent *Christopher Assonville* in quality of a Minister of State; but the Queen wold not admit him, because he could produce neither Commission or Credential Letter from the King of *Spain*, whose Vassal *Alva* was. In the year 1604. the King of *Spain* motiond that the publik Minister who was here for the *Hollanders* shold not be stild *Ambassador*, because they are subject to the *Empire*, and have a Superior, having bin incorporated in the *Empire* by *Charles* the fifth 1548. at the Diet of *Auspurg*, as *Meteramus* relates, and says besides that *Rodolphus* 2. writ Letters unto them 1607. as to Vassals of the Empire, and consequently they had no power to make Peace or War without the consent of *Cæsar*, which they then acknowledgd by their Letters sent to *Colen*.

The Electors and Princes of *Germany* have got a privilege to send and receave *Ambassadors* touching matters that concern their own Territories, but not the state of the Empire: The like the *Hans* Town may do.

But Rebels have no capacity to employ any in quality of Miniſters of State, no not ſo much as an *Herald*: Therfore *Charles* the fifth was cenſurd for admitting a Herald with Letters denouncing a War from the *Lutheran* party in *Germany*, and diſmiſſing him unpuniſhd; though he told him that if he came again, in ſteed of a *Gold Chain* he ſhold have a *Halter* for his reward.

Touching the Electors or Princes of *Germany*, and the *Hans* Towns, or Cities of the *Hanſa*, it hath bin much controverted whether they had *Jus Legationis*, whether they had a capacity to make a Miſſion of Miniſters of State that might bear the quality and privilege of Ambaſſadors. Concerning the firſt, *Kirknerus* a great Civilian holds, That the *German* Princes may have ſuch a Prerogative, but it is *ſecundario tantum Jure*. *Et qui Jus mittendorum Legatorum ſecundario tantùm Jure habent mittuntur Legati non de Rebus univerſum concernentibus Imperium, ſed tantùm ſui Territorii ratione, eo enim Ipſis intuitu tantùm datum; ultra igitur terminos non eſt procedendum, fieret enim aliàs prejudicium Imperatori*, &c. The *German* Princes may employ Ambaſſadors to Forren Princes by a ſecondary Right, not to treat of Affairs concerning the Univerſal Empire, but of things only appertaining to their own particular Territories, and beyond thoſe bounds they muſt not proceed. And ther are ſome Princes in *Italy* alſo that are no leſs under the Majeſty of the Empire in this kind, but, *&c.*

As for the *Hans* Towns and Corporations, they claim the ſame privilege as the Princes do, for they are free *Imperial* Cities, and communicat of the ſame Regalias, yet all by the indulgence of the Emperour, wherunto his neceſſities from time to time enforcd him. The Provinces of *Belgia*, or the *Netherlands*, under pretext of ſuch a Right ſent the Baron of *Montigni* as Ambaſſador to *Spain* at the beginning of the tumults; but *Philip* the ſecond choppd off his head, ſaying, That Vaſſals, much leſs Rebels, have no power to employ Ambaſſadors; Yet this King his Grandchild admitted *Aſcham* who came from as notorious Rebels, (though not in reference to him) which he excuſd in regard that Queen *Elizabeth* had receavd Ambaſſadors from *Holland* at their firſt revolt before they were acknowledgd a *State*, and that ſhe was the chiefeſt ſupportreſs of them.

VVe will conclude this Paragraph with this Tickliſh Point, VVhether a *Proteſtant* Prince may not ſend an Ambaſſador to the *Pope*, and by way of civil correſpondence receave another from *Him*: though *Juſtice Aſhton* was of a contrary opinion, yet Sir *Edward Coke* was for the *Affirmatif*; and his reaſon is, be-

because that besides his *Spiritual* Jurisdiction the Pope is a *Temporal* Prince; and ther may be Ambassadors sent to *him* as well as to the Turk, or *Mogor*.

The fourth Paragraph:

Of the Privileges, Security, Reception, and the honorable sacred esteem which hath bin always had of the Persons of Ambassadors.

AMong many other Privileges which Ambassadors enjoy, and are endowd withal *Jure Gentium* by the Law of Nations, not only their Persons have bin always esteemd sacred and inviolable, but their Houses have bin held and allowd as Sanctuaries, all their Servants from the Stuard to the Scullion-Boy are free from all kind of outrages, violence or arrests. And they have this security not only in Courts and Cities, but in the midst of Armies in the Field, twixt Swords, Muskets and Guns: for though *Ambassadors* come from an Enemy, yet *they* are accounted none. VVhensoever they take footing upon the shore, or confines of any Prince to whom they are sent, they use to be attended by Harbingers and other Officers all the way, till they arrive at the Court. If they be robbd, the King makes good their losses: If an extraordinary Ambassador, he is attended at his first entrance with a more splendid equippage; he is Lodgd, and Dieted at the Kings charge for so many days with his whole train. At his Audience the King riseth to him, pulls off his Hat, and bows his Body, *&c.* *Besoldus* produceth the King of *England*, *anno* 1527. for an example how he observd the *French* Ambassador as if he had bin the King himself; His words are, *Angliæ Rex Gallicum Legatum planè ut Regem observavit, eiq; supremum locum concessit, adeoq; honoravit, ut in Comœdiis ipsius Regis filiæ sustineret personam:* The King of *England* observd the *French Ambassador* plainly as the King, and gave him the upper place, and he so honord him that he held by the arm the Kings Daughter to a Comedy.

But the Princes Electors carry themselfs high in this particular, for they take place of Ambassadors; and the reason which *Guetta* and other Civilians give, is, *In præsente Principe vera Majestas, in Legato tantùm dignitas aliena; In Principe rei veritas, in Legato effigiata & adumbrata est: ut autem umbra Luci, ita Principi Legatus; quamvis enim Fictio tantùm operetur quantùm rei veritas ipsa, tamen ubi veritas & Fictio ad idem collimant, veritas prævalet Fictioni.* In the present Prince ther is real Majesty, in an Ambassador only a representative; In the Prince ther is the truth of the thing, in an Ambassador the effigies or shadow: Now as the shadow

yeelds

yeelds to the light, so an Ambassador must yeeld to a Prince; For although a Fiction operats as much as the truth of the thing, yet where Truth and Fiction aim at one thing, Truth is Prevalent. Nay, the Electors jointly hold themselfs to be more then the Emperour, he being their production, and made by their Suffrages and election; and the Rule of Heraldry is *Honor est in Dante*. But all this is by the by.

Now, so high and transcendent is the privilege of an *Ambassador*, and his Person so sacred, that whosoever doth perpetrat any thing against his safety, he is guilty of High Treson of *Læsæ Majestatis*, that is, of prostituted Faith, Publik Authority, and of a breach of the Law of Nations. *Qui violarit Legatum Lege Julia de vi publica tenetur*, VVho violats an Ambassador by the *Julian Law* he is guilty of publik violence; and by the Pontifical Law tis no less then a *Piacle*, therfore he is interdicted from the benefit of holy things.

We will produce some Examples what revenges have followd for the violation of *Ambassadors*. The King of the *Ammonits* did deride and ill entreat the Ambassadors of King *David*, and to make them more contumelious, their Beards were half shaven, and their garments torn to their tails; but what ensued? the *Ammonits* afterward were overcome in Battail, and *Rabba* their chief City being taken, it was sacrificed with other Cities also to free plunder, and the fury of the soldiers; so the affronts done to the *Ambassadors* were vindicated. The *Romans* usd for a Piaculary Revenge to send those who had violated an Ambassador to the King whose person he represented as a victime, that he might inflict upon them what punishment he pleased for the atrocity of the Fact. So *Minutius* and *Manlius* were sent to *Carthage* by a solemn Decree of the Senat because they had wrongd her Ambassadors at *Rome*. And so respectful were the *Romans* of the sacred Persons of Ambassadors, that if any free Citizen of *Rome* did offer the least violence though by words only, he was degraded of being a free Citizen ever after. Nay, the very name of *Ambassador* is so sacred, that ther is a rare example that though some did counterfait it, yet they wold lay no violent hands upon them; For *Scipio Africanus* having taken a ship laden with many illustrious *Carthaginians*, they said that they were *Ambassadors* sent to him, yet, though it was found they were none, he dismissd them peaceably, That as *Valerius* hath it, *Romani Imperatoris potius decepta fides quàm frustra implorata videretur*.

Ambassadors also have a privilege that what children they get abroad, be it under what Climat it will during their *Legation*, they are free-born *Denizens* of that Country whence they come, and need no *Naturalization*; and the reason which *Hotoman* gives,

gives, is, that they cannot be said to be absent thence all the while, being still doing the business of their own Country, though they live as *Exiles* for the time for the common good. Besides, if they chance to die there, their goods are not subject to *droit d' Aubaine*, that is, they do not fall by Escheatage to the King as other strangers goods do in some Countries. When they are revokd home, they are advanced to the best Offices, and not only as a jeering *French-man* said to *pluck Capons*, as Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Peter Wichts*, and Sir *Thomas Edmonds* were, who were made Officers of the *Green-cloth* in the Kings Houshold; Lastly, after their deaths ther were statues erected to perpetuat their memories.

The fifth Paragraph,

Of the Breeding and Education, of the Parts and Perfections both Acquird and Natural which are requird in an Ambassador.

AS in a *General*, or Commander in chief of an Army, ther is requird Valour, Magnanimity and Courage; so in an *Ambassador* ther is Wisdome, Discretion and Prudence requird: The one is for Performance and Action, the other is for Counsel and Negotiation. Ther is also *Elocution* requisit in both, in the one to enforce the justice of the Quarrel, and to infuse courage into the soldiers by his *Hortatives*, in lieu wherof *Sermons* are made use of in latter Ages; in the other to move the affections of the Prince he is sent unto. Therfore *Mercury* was appointed to be *Ambassador* of the Gods in regard of his *Eloquence*. And this strain of well-speaking in an *Ambassador* must be natural as well as by art; for the *Italian* tells us, *Una oncia di Natura vale una libra di Dottrina*, An ounce of Nature is worth a pound of Learning. Touching matter of *Literature*, ther are two principal Qualities requird in him, *viz.* to be a good *Historian* and a good *Linguist*; being the first, tis presumd he is stord with Examples, Precedents and Observations of the Carriage of other Ambassadors; Of what encounters and difficulties they found in their Negotiations, and what successes they had. By being a good *Linguist* he hath extraordinary advantage to facilitat his affairs, to converse with other Ambassadors upon the *place*; to get intelligence, and gain the knowledge and frendship of the prime men and Ministers of that Prince to whom he is employd, and to get *his* favor also. But it is a caution which the *Civilians* give, That an Ambassador shold not speak but in a Language which he well understands for fear of slips, and placing a word amiss: Now, tis a great truth specially in an Ambassador, that

Meglio è ſducciolare co 'piedi che con la lingua, Tis better to ſlip with the foot then with the toung: Now, the toung being by the inſtitution of Nature *in udo poſita*, put in a moiſt place, is very ſubject to ſlip.

That worthy Knight *Frederik Marſelaer* in his Book calld the *Legat*, and the *Civilians*, point at divers qualities that ſhold be in an Ambaſſador.

1. He ſhold be an *Indigena* born in that Country whence he comes, that all his hopes of preferment may be there: and certainly a *Stranger* or *Alien* though made free Denizen cannot be ſo proper; for a true-born Childe muſt needs negotiat with more affection for the honor and ſafety, for the benefit and intereſt of his own native Country and Mother.

2. He muſt be a Gentleman born, or Noble; for all Gentlemen are accounted Noble in other Countries. He muſt be no *Agaſo* or *Caprimulgus*, and then he will gain more reſpect from the Prince and Peeple to whom he is employd: for ſince he muſt take Precedence of Princes, Dukes, Marquiſſes and Earls, *&c.* they will not think it much to give him priority of place being well born.

3. He muſt be a comely and graceful Perſon being to repreſent the perſon of his Prince; for the peeple of that Country to whom he is ſent will be apt to think that the Prince whom he perſonats is ſo. We read that *Artaxerces* culld out forty of the hanſomſt men that could be found to ſend in quality of Ambaſſadors to *Alexander*, who were alſo hanſomely clad, ſo that it was a queſtion whether *they* were a greater ornament to their Garments, or their Garments to them, as the Greeks ſaid. An Ambaſſador being employed from *England* to *Rome* with a train of very comely Gentlemen, the Pope beholding them, ſaid, *Hi videntur potius Angeli quam Angli*, Theſe appeer rather to be Angels then Engliſh-men. *Ariſtotle* being askd why outward beuty and comlineſs begat ſo much love, anſwerd, *That this was a Blindmans queſtion.*

4. That he ſhold be well in yeers; for Experience being the great Looking-glaſs of Wiſdome, and Wiſdome being the principal Vertu requird in an Ambaſſador, Men that have many yeers on their backs *qui ont piſſé en beaucoup de neiges*, as the *Frenchman* ſaith, muſt needs have more experience by obſerving the viciſſitude of worldly things, and the ſucceſſes therof; who have paſſed the unruly affections of Youth, which like ſo many Maſtiffs do daily ſet upon us. Senators (or Counſellors of State) are denominated from *Senes*, Old men; and an *Ambaſſador*, who may be rankd among the higheſt Counſellors of State, ſhold be ſo. Tis a tru ſaying, *Qui in multis verſati, verſuti ſunt.*

5. That

5. That he ſhold be of a proportionable good Eſtate, and not indigent, for then he will be the more ſedulous, diligent and careful in his charge, becauſe he hath ſomething to looſe: for his Eſtate may be ſaid to be his Bayl all the while he is abroad. Moreover, it will add much to the reputation of an *Ambaſſador* if he be known to be rich.

6. He muſt be liberal and munificent, remembring the Perſon whom he repreſents: for a ſordid parſimony and niggardneſs is odious in all men, ſpecially in an *Ambaſſador*. The *Spaniard* ſaith, That *Dadivas entran ſin taladro*, Gifts make their way in without a Wimble, and nothing concerns an Ambaſſador more then to make his way into the Conſults and Tranſactions of ſtate of that Court where he reſides, which cannot be done if he be cloſe-fiſted. When *Sulpitius Galba* and *Aurelius Cotta* did contend who ſhold be ſent to *Spain* Ambaſſador in the time of *Viriatus*, *Emilianus* one of the Senators ſaid, That neither of them was fit; for the one was poor, and the other was covetous; the one had nothing, and nothing wold ſatisfie the other. Ther is a remarkable paſſage in *Jovius*, That when the *Florentines* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Charles* 5. and *Clement* 7. being then at *Bolonia*, together with their houſhold-ſtuff, they brought covertly many rich Commodities to ſell, becauſe they might be free from paying the Gabel: But the Searchers of the Cuſtome-houſe having diſcoverd it, they became a laughing-ſtock; and, as unworthy of the Office of *Ambaſſadors*, they were remanded home without audience. By this example it appeers that *Ambaſſadors* Luggages may be ſearchd; Wherunto we may add another of Sir *Thomas Chaloner* ſent *Ambaſſador* to *Spain* by Queen *Elizabeth*, who ſending complaint home that his Cheſts had bin ſearchd, the Council ſitting therupon determind, as *Campden* hath it, in theſe words, *Legato omnia æqui boniq; ferenda, dummodo Principis Honor non directè violetur*; An Ambaſſador muſt bear all things patiently, provided that the Honor of the Prince (whom he ſerves) be not directly violated.

7. He muſt be accoſtable and courteous, and not of a moroſs humor, yet reſerving ſtill his ſtate and gravity when time, place and perſons require. Urbanity and gentleneſs works much upon all affections, and he is a *cheap Frend who is got by a Complement*: Therfore it becomes and behoves an Ambaſſador to comply with all in civilities by being of a winning, complacentious and benign behaviour; yet not to make himſelf too cheap, and to have a ſpecial care where he placeth his Complements.

8. An Ambaſſador alſo muſt be conſtant, and tenacious of the Religion of his Prince and Country, both in the confident profeſſion, and conſtant practice therof; if he cannot publikly, yet privatly within the walls of his own Houſe; for nothing raiſeth

raiſeth a repute more then an opinion of Piety. Therfore he muſt be very careful in the choice of his houſe, that it be fair and large, and a good diſtance from the Court, otherwiſe he may be peſterd with too many Viſiters that will have their feet under his table ever and anon. He muſt be alſo conſtant to the habit and veſts of his own King and Country: For he who doth not follow the faſhion of his Prince herin, may be ſaid *Exuere Perſonam*; and this was imputed as a great fault and fantaſtiqueneſs in my Lord *Roſſe* when he went to *Spain* in King *James* his time, who appeerd at his firſt Audience, and continued afterwards in the *Spaniſh* habit. An Ambaſſador muſt be alſo very careful in the choice of Liveries for his Pages and Laquays, that they be rich and fair, but not fantaſtical: As likewiſe that he be well Coachd, and that his Coach be well drawn by good Horſes; for nothing ſets forth the luſtre of an *Ambaſſador* more.

The ſixth Paragraph,

Touching the Election and appointment of an Ambaſſador, that He ſhold be Par Negotio, *or adæquat to the Employment He goes about.*

THe diſcretion and prudence of a Prince diſcovers it ſelf in nothing more then in the choice of his Inſtruments. The old Poet tells us,

If Carpenter have not good Tools,
He makes ill-favourd Chairs and Stools.

But of all other Inſtruments and Officers, ther muſt be moſt inſpection had in the choice of his Ambaſſador: for as the incolumity of the Kingdome depends upon the King, ſo the welfare of the King depends much upon the ability of his *Ambaſſador*. Therfore this truſtful Charge, this ſacred Function muſt not be proſtituted to evry one, for *Ex quolibet ligno non fit Mercurius*, Evry one is not cut out for a *Mercury*, that is, an *Ambaſſador*; for *Mercury* is accounted the God of Ambaſſadors.

The *Romans* for a time did chooſe Ambaſſadors *Sortilegio*, by Lots, as the *Venetians* now chooſe their *Doge*; and this was to prevent competitions and corruptions: Some were choſen *Togâ*, by the Gown for their wiſdome; ſome *Sago*, by the Caſſock for their experience in the War, according as the quality of the preſent buſineſs did require; and indeed tis a great advantage to an *Ambaſſador* to have ſomething of a Soldier in him, howſoever he muſt go always *Cinctus gladio*, with his Sword by his ſide; and the Prince who ſends him muſt have alſo his Sword in his hand though

though he treats of peace. The principalſt quality requird in him is to be *Intrepidus*, to be fearleſs, reſolut and ſtout. He muſt not be puſillanimous and ſheepiſh; for the witty Proverb will tell him, *Chi pecora ſi fà il lupo ſe la mangia*, Who makes himſelf a ſheep the wolf will devour him: Therfore ther muſt be a ſpecial care had to pry into the genius and natural diſpoſition of the party in this particular; for tis a tru principle in humane Nature, That *a Coward cannot be an honeſt man*, and Honeſty is a main thing requird in an *Ambaſſador*. Therfore he muſt not be dejected and caſt down at the croſs traverſes and ſucceſs of any buſineſs; his courage muſt not be daunted or daſhd at any thing. He muſt be alſo bold and confident in his Propoſals and Demands; for *Qui timidè rogat docet negare*, Who asks with fear teacheth how to deny: And let him be ſure to ask rather too much then too little; for *Domanda aſſai, che non mancherà poi à calare*; Ask enough, and ther will be enough to abate afterwards: Therfore let him not be ſtanchd, or mealy-mouthd in his Demands and Audiences; Bluſhing and Baſhfulneſs are commendable in Maids and Boys, but odious in Ambaſſadors; therfore the *Spaniard* hath a witty Proverb, *Al Vergonzoſo el Diablo le truxo al Palacio*, The Devil brought the Baſhful to Court. Wherfore in the election of an Ambaſſador ther muſt be a regard had to his natural diſpoſition, that he be confident and hardy. Ther is a memorable obſervation and ſaying of *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain*, calld *El Prudente*, that when he had deſignd one for an *Ambaſſador*, he came faintily and coldly to him to propoſe ſome things for the accommodation of his Embaſſy; The King obſerving it, ſaid, *How can I expect that this man can promote and effectuat my Buſineſſes, when he is ſo fainty and fearful in the ſollicitation of his own?* To prevent this, the probableſt way is to make choice of a generous and well-*extracted* perſon, for *Degeneres animos Timor arguit*. One of the greateſt blemiſhes that Hiſtorians do caſt upon *Lewis* the eleventh of *France*, is, that he made choice of his Barber to be *Ambaſſador* to the Duke of *Burgundy*; and it was upon no ordinary buſineſs, for it was to make an overture of a Match with the young Princeſs his Daughter; but the mean opinion which was had of the quality of the man overthrew the buſineſs. *Matthæus Palmerius* an Apothecary of *Florence* had better luck then the *French* Barber had; For he being ſent in quality of Ambaſſador to *Alfonſo* King of *Naples*, and having acquitted himſelf ſo elegantly, and with ſo much generoſity at his firſt audience, and the King underſtanding that he was an Apothecary, ſaid, *Se tali ſono gli Speciali di Fierenze, quali debbono eſſere gli Medici?* If the Apothecaries of *Florence* are ſuch, what ſhall we think of their Phyſitians? But this Apothecary although he was of an ordinary Trade, yet he was

an extraordinary man in point of Parts and Erudition, which made compensation for the meanness of his Profession.

Moreover, it is an advantage to the affairs of a King that he make choice of a proper and graceful person, and of a sound healthful constitution to represent him abroad. We read that it was prohibited by the Law of *Moses* that any man who had any blemish or mutilation shold be made a *Levite:* Now, *Levits*, as it was insinuated before, are as the Legats of God Almighty, and Kings being types of him, shold not have any to personat them that had any deformity or indisposition. I remember when Count *Gondamar* and the Marquis of *Inojosa* were here Ambassadors for the King of *Spain*, the one was troubled with the *Fistula*, and the other had lost a peece of his Nostril, therupon a Libel was made that the King of *Spain* made an odd choice of his *Ambassadors* to *England*, for the one had the Pox in his *Brich*, the other in his *Nose*.

It hath bin much controverted among Statists whether one person singly, or many joynd in Commission be fitteſt for an Embassy: this business is much canvasd *Pro & Con* among the *Civilians*; they that are for plurality urge *Solomon*, That *in multitude of Counsellors ther is safety*. They instance in divers examples, and produce *Virgil*,

Qui dicta ferunt, & fœdera firment
Centum Oratores patria de gente Latinos.

Darius employd ten in an Embassy to *Alexander*; The *Romans* sent ten to appease the tumults of *Asia*; They sent ten to *Macedonia*; Four to the *Fidenates*; Three to the *Carthaginians*, *&c.* But *Paschalius* gives a Rule herein, *Tentando aut Tractando unus satis est*; *consummando plurium interventus desideratur:* In trying or treating one is enough; in consummating a business the intervention of many is requird. So *Peter Matthieu* relates that ther were 400 *Spanish* Gentlemen at the confirmation of the Peace of *Vervins* twixt *Spain* and *France*, which might be calld a *Legion* rather then a *Legation*.

But the most political *Civilians* are for one single person, *trop gran nombre est encombre*, too great a number is an encumber among Ambassadors, it is subject to confusion and delays; it will make the business in treaty to take air, and be sooner discoverd. One is far more secret and sedulous when he acts by himself, then when he must concur with others. Then ther are Maximes in the Law, *Cura plurium, cura nullorum*; The care of many, the care of none; *Quod multos tangit, paucos angit.* Then many emulations and envy do often creep in with other inconveniences amongst many. Therfore the most expedit and advantagious

cours

cours is, that ther be but one Ambassador, but the Prince must choose a choice man to be he; He must be *Lectus antequam Electus.*

Another debate ther is, Whether *Legatio* be only a *Virile Munus*, a Masculin task, or whether *Women* are capable to be employd in an Embassy; and more are for the Affirmatif part then the Negatif. It was much controverted in *Rome* whether *Veturia* and *Volumnia*, two *Roman* Matrons, were fit to be sent as the desperatness of the case then stood, upon an Embassy to *Coriolanus* and the *Volscians*; it was determind they shold, and the treaty took good effect. Ther were *Roman* Dames sent upon an Embassy to *Constantius* the Emperour for revoking Pope *Liberius*, and they prevaild. It was a practice among the *Romans* to send the *Vestal Virgins* upon Embassies. Ther is a memorable example how *Guelpso* the Duke of *Bavaria* having provokd the Emperour *Conradus*, he set so close upon his skirts that he coopd him up in *Winsberg*, where he beleagerd him; *Cæsar* was so incensd that he vowd to put all to fire and sword. So the Duke being reducd to great extremities, it was thought fit to send the *Dutchess* as *Ambassadress* to the Emperours Camp, where she performd her part so gallantly, that she so movd and melted his heart, that for her sake all the Women in *Winsberg* shold have safe conduct to depart, and carry away upon their backs as much of the most precious wealth as they could bear, but the Men shold abide his mercy. Herupon the Ducheſs took the Duke upon her sholders, and evry Wife after her example took her Husband; Maids and Unmarried Women took up some their Brothers, some their Kinred, and so all marchd out; so *Cæsar* pardond all. I will conclude with a late example of Madame *Sardaw*, who went so often privatly twixt *Bruxels* and the *Hague* until the peace was concluded twixt *Spain* and *Holland* after fourscore yeers Wars by Sea and Land: Therfore she was calld *La Maquarelle de la Paix*; which was no disgrace to her.

The

The seventh Paragraph,

Touching the Office, Function and Duty of an Ambassador in the execution of his Place, and acquitting himself of the great Fiduciary Trust reposed in Him, &c.

THe Civilians, who are best versd in the Laws of Embassies, say, *Legatio est mysterioſum quid*, that it is a mysterious thing; It is full of secrecie and darkness, as it is of Faith and Trust. The Lord high Chancellor of *England*, who is Keeper of the Kings *Conscience* as well as of the *Great Seal*, hath a great trust reposd in him for to mitigat the rigor of the Laws by way of Equity. The Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, he of the Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, have great trusts reposd in them: but all these deal twixt Subject and Subject, and sometimes twixt King and Subject: But Ambassadors have a higher trust, for they deal twixt Kings and Kings, twixt Countries and Countries; therfore as the burden is heavier, so the honor is the greater: ther is no secrecie belongs to the other Offices; but reservedness and secrecie is the soul of Embassy; which made one say, *If his Cap knew his privat Instructions, he wold burle it into the fire and burn it.* And as ther is honor in this high employment, so ther is much honor attends it; which made one say, *That that Ambassador who loseth one hair of his Masters honor, forfeits his head at his return.*

One of the principal Duties of an Ambassador, is to stick close to his *Instructions*, and the Mandats of his Master; and therin an Ambassador Ldger doth not run so much hazard as an Extraordinary, who hath many things commonly left to discretion by way of implicit trust. *Besoldus* defines the Office of an Ambassador thus, *Ut Mandatum fideliter, & cum dexteritate exequatur, & acceptum responſum diligentiſsimè notatum referat Mittenti*; That with faithfulness and dexterity he execut the Command, and report to him who sent him the Answer most diligently noted. Ther is a shorter definition, *Officium Legati est ut Mandata Legationis diligenter conficiat, & ex Fide*, That he perform carefully the Command of the Embassy, and with Faith. He derives all his Power from his Instructions; for without them ther is no Mission or Embassy. Ther is an Example of the *Athenians*, that having employd Ambassadors with divers Instructions, wherof one was, that they shold take such a way as they went, they going another way, though they had performd all the rest of the Instructions, yet they were put to death at their return for infringing this one.

Ther

Ther are divers instances how Ambassadors exceeding their Commissions, and falling into follies, have bin punishd upon the place. *Hector Boetius* relates that *Olaus* and *Evetus* killd the Scots Ambassadors. *Teaca* Queen of *Sclavonia* killd a Roman Ambassador, as *Polybius* mentions. The *Athenians* causd *Darius* Ambassadors to be thrown into a Well. *Dandolo* the *Venetian* Ambassador had his eyes pluckd out by the King of *Sicily*. But let us descend to latter Ages: *Francis* the first of *France* sent *Fregosa* and *Rinion* Ambassadors to the *Turk*; *Charles* 5. soldiers discoverd, surprizd and slew them in *Italy*: The fact was justified by the Emperour because they were both his subjects, the one being a *Milanois*, the other of *Genoa*, and servd his Enemy, for ther were Wars then twixt *Charles* and *Francis*. *Edward* the second of *England* employd a *French* Gentleman Ambassador to *France*, who had bin executed for a Traytor for serving the Enemy had not the Queen interceded. *Anno* 1302. the Pope sent an Ambassador to *France*, where he practisd some Treson; and being arraigned, convicted, and condemned to die, the Popes Frends procurd that he shold be banishd only. The *Venetian* drew out of the *French Ambassadors* House some who bad discoverd their secrets to the *Turk*, where resistance being made, Cannons were sent for from the Arsenal, and so they were taken out by force, and the *French* King not offended.

The Ambassadors in these latter examples by their own indiscretion and misdemenures drew these violences upon themselfs. We will concude this point with a latter example in *England* 1624. at which time ther were two Spanish Ambassadors residing in *London*, who were the *Marquis of Inojosa*, and *Don Carlos Coloma*; and the Prince of *Wales* being newly returnd from *Madrid Re infectâ*, without the Infanta, matters began to gather ill bloud twixt *England* and *Spain*, in regard that the Treties both of *Match* and *Palatinat* were dissolvd by Act of Parlement, which was done by means of the Duke of *Buckingham*. The said Ambassadors finding *that*, they contrivd a way how to supplant and destroy the Duke. Herupon falling into consideration that King *James* was grown old, and that the least thing might make impressions of distrust and jealousies in him, therfore in a privat audience they did intimat unto him that ther was a very dangerous designe against his Royal Authority traced by the Duke of *Buckingham* and his Complices, which was, that at the beginning of that Parlement the said Duke with certain Lords, and others consulted of the argument & means which were to be taken for the breaking and dissolving of the Treties both of the Spanish Match, and for the restitution of the Palatinat; and if his Majesty wold not conform therunto, their consultations passd so far, that he shold have a house of pleture where he might retire

himself to his sports, in regard that the Prince had now yeers sufficient, and parts answerable for the Goverment of the Kingdome. The King for the present dismissd them with thanks; But the next day he made earnest instances that as they had discoverd a Conspiracie, they wold also detect the Conspirators, this being the only means wherby their own honor might be preservd in proving the truth of things. To this they replyed, That they had reveald enough already in order to the care and zeal they had to his Royal Person and Dignity. Therupon the King commanded that the Duke of *Buckingham* shold be put to his Oath, with others who were most suspectful, which they all took for cleering their integrity.

This being done, the King returnd to make new instances to the said Ambassadors, that they wold not prefer the discovery of the names of the Conspirators to the security of his Person, as also to the truth and honor of themselfs, and to the hazard of an opinion to be held the Authors and Betrayers of a Plot of so much malice, sedition and danger; but they wold discover no more.

Yet a few days after they desird new audience, which was suspended to be given them, and in the interim the King sent Sir *Edward Conway* his principal Secretary of State, and Sir *Francis Cottington* Secretary to the Prince, (both Lords afterwards) to signifie unto the said Ambassadors that he desird nothing more then a continuance of frendship twixt the two Crowns; therfore if they had any thing to say they shold communicat it to the said Secretaries as persons of trust, which he employd expresly for that purpose; and if they made any difficulty of this also, then they might choose among his Council of State those whom they likd best, and he wold command that they shold presently repair unto them: and if this also shold seem inconvenient, they might send him what they had to say in a Letter by whom they thought fittest, and he wold receave it with his own hands. But they gave no answer to all this: therupon the said Secretaries told them according to their Instructions which they had receavd from his Majesty, That they being the Authors of an Information so dangerous and seditious, had made themselfs incapable to treat further with the King their Master; and were it not for the respect he bore to the Catholik King his dear and beloved Brother their Master, and that they were in quality of Ambassadors to such a Majesty, he wold and could by the Law of Nations, and the right of his own Royal Justice, proceed against them with such severity as their offence deservd; but for the reasons beforesaid he wold leave the reparation to the Justice of their own King, of whom he wold demand and require it.

Herupon

Herupon Sir *Walter Aſhton* Ambaſſador then in *Spain* for the Crown of *England*, had audience of that King, wherin he ſaid, That the King of *Great Britain* his Maſter had commanded him to demand ſatiſfaction and ſatisfaction of his Majeſty againſt the Marquiſs of *Inojoſa* and Don *Carlos Coloma* for ſcandalizing the Duke of *Buckingham*, (with other of his beſt ſubjects) and through his ſides aiming at the Prince himſelf; for it is unlikely the Duke wold have caſt himſelf upon ſuch a deſigne without the communication of it to him, and to know his pleſure: ſo he remonſtrated the whole circumſtance of the buſineſs, *&c.* And in concluſion he ſaid, That he humbly beſeechd his Majeſty to obſerve and weigh well the care and tenderneſs wherwith the King his Maſter had proceeded towards his Majeſties Ambaſſadors; not obliging them to any precipitat reſolutions, but giving them time, and opening a way how they might have cleerd themſelfs, *&c.*

It was expected that the ſaid Ambaſſadors at their return to *Spain* wold have bin puniſhd, or at leaſt checkd; but matters growing daily worſe and worſe twixt *England* and *Spain*, the ſaid Ambaſſadors were rather rewarded then reprehended at their return, *Inojoſa* being made afterwards Governor of *Milan*; and *Coloma* receavd addition of command, and honors in *Flanders*.

But the high civilities of *England* at that time towards the ſaid Ambaſſadors was much cryed up abroad, that notwithſtanding ſo pernicious a machination to demoliſh *Buckingham*, and to diſcompoſe the whole *Engliſh* Court, yet they were permitted to depart peaceably; and Sir *Lewis Leukner* was commanded to conduct them to the Sea-ſide for prevention of any outrage upon their perſons.

We have dwelt the longer upon this buſineſs, in regard ther are extraordinary traverſes of State in it, being a Plot of an unuſual reach of policy, which will be found more amply related in the addition the *Author* made to *Finets* Ambaſſador: but in regard it is ſo pertinent to this Paragraph, he thought it fit to inſert the ſubſtance of it here.

We will now reſume things touching the Office of an *Ambaſſador*. It is very neceſſary he ſhold have his Credential Letters exact and plain; His Commiſſion plenary, and fortified with as much authority as he can. The *Spaniſh* Miniſters when the Prince of *Wales* was there, objected againſt the Duke of *Buckingham* that his Commiſſion (for he came alſo in quality of Ambaſſador) was not ſo compleat and authentik as that of the Earl of *Briſtols*; for he had his Commiſſion under the Broad Seal of *England*, wheras the Duke had his by the King only.

The

The Civilians make a queſtion, *Si à Legato Mandata poſcantur, is adigi poſsit ad ea exhibenda.* Their opinion is, That beſides his Credential or Fiduciary Letters, and his General Commiſſion, he is not bound to ſhew any more. Touching his privat *Inſtructions*, *Paſchalius* ſaith, *Mala eum agitat res qui in Legati Secreta irreligioſe irrumpit.* It is queſtiond further, Whether it may ſtand with the Office and Honor of an *Ambaſſador* to receave Gifts and Preſents from the Prince he is ſent unto, which the *Civilians* call *Lautia*, a word peculiar only to *Ambaſſadors*: ſome are for the Negative, which the *Hollanders* do follow; for their *Ambaſſadors* uſe to receave none, not ſo much as a Bottle of Wine: But moſt are for the Affirmatif. But the *Venetians* (who are reputed to have the beſt Rules touching *Ambaſſadors*) though they allow it, yet, their *Ambaſſadors* are bound to exhibit their Preſents to the *Senat*; and tis thought much of St. *Marks* treſure conſiſts of it. They are alſo bound in a large Oration to give an account (beſides that of their Embaſſy) what they obſervd moſt remarkable in the Goverment, State and Quality of the Country; of which Oration they bring alſo a Manuſcript which is put up in their *Archives*. *John* Earl of *Briſtol* at his departure from *Madrid* (notwithſtanding that the weather had grown foul twixt us and *Spain*) receavd a Cupboard of huge maſſie Plate valued at 20000 Crowns of this King of *Spain*, who alſo gave him a Diamond Ring off his Finger, rated at 1500 *l.* ſterling; and the reaſon was, becauſe he had found him ſo wiſe, faithful and induſtrious a ſervant to his King.

The *Civilians* make likewiſe a doubt whether it may not interrupt the Office of an *Ambaſſador* to have his Wife and Children along with him; but they who hold the contrary are rather exploded then approved: For to leave his Wife, is for one to leave half himſelf behind him; beſides, Conjugal ſociety is counted the prime of comforts: moreover, it ſaves trouble of Writing, and charges for Letters and Packets, which come to no ſmall ſum at the yeers end, *&c.*

We will conclude this Paragraph with two ſpecial things which the Civilians require further for the performance of the Office of an *Ambaſſador*, *viz.* That he be reſervd and ſecret in an intenſe degree; he muſt not be *Plenus Rimarum*, full of chinks: and herin the *Italian* and *Spaniard* are eminently imitable; for all the Drugs in *Egypt* cannot draw away a ſecret from them, wheras a ſmall Purge or Vomit will make others caſt it up.

Furthermore, that an *Ambaſſador* may facilitat the diſcharge of his Office the better, it is requiſit that he have a previous knowledg of the Court and Country whereunto he is employd: that

that he be well verſd in the *Speech* therof; for it is a ſad thing when one is ſent *Ambaſſador* to ſee faſhions, and learn the Language of a Country.

Laſtly, ther's nothing more concerns the Office and Duty of an *Ambaſſador* (as it was touchd before) then to be true to his *Inſtructions*. *Brunus* tells us, that *Qui extra Mandatum agit, aliud agit*; Who acts beyond his Commiſſion, acts another thing: Yet it cannot be denied but many things in point of circumſtance are left to the diſcretion of a Plenipotentiary *Ambaſſador*; therfore, as I take it, ther was by the twelve Tables in *Rome* a latitude of power left to Legats, *Quæ bonum Patriæ eminenter tangunt etiamſi non Mandentur, agunto:* What eminently concerns the publik good, though not commanded, let them be done.

The eighth Paragraph,

Touching the Laws of England *relating to* Ambaſſadors *in point of Reception, Audience, Treatments and Rewards; as alſo what prudence hath bin uſd for compoſing of Conteſtations betwixt them in point of Precedence, &c.*

HAving ſpoken hitherto generally of the concernments of *Ambaſſadors*, and the privileges of *Legation*, We will now make ſome inſpections in particular into the Conſtitutions and Common Laws of *England*, which may be calld *Civil*, and very complying in this point.

The Law of *England*, as the great Father of it my Lord *Coke* ſays, That *Honor Legati honor mittentis eſt*, The honor of an Ambaſſador is the honor of him who ſent him: That *Legati, aut Proregis dedecus redundat in Regem*, The affront offerd an Ambaſſador redounds to his King. By the Common Law of *England* tis High Treſon to kill an Ambaſſador; as among others ther are Examples in the perſons of *John Kerby* and *John Algore*, the one a *London*-Mercer, the other a Grocer, who were both arraignd, convicted, and condemned for killing *John Imperial*, who was *Ambaſſador* from *Genoa*, for a Patent he had got of the King for the ſole importing of all Commodities from the Levant parts. *J. Hill* was alſo condemned of High Treſon for killing of *A. de Walton* who was Ambaſſador, *&c.* Then the high civilities that were ſhewd by King *James* to the *Marquiſs* of *Inojoſa*, and *Don Carlos Coloma* the Spaniſh *Ambaſſadors*, notwithſtanding their high miſdemenures for calumniating the laſt Duke of *Buckingham*, and through him the Prince of *Wales* his ſole Son, and Heir apparent to the Crown, as it is mentiond in the next preceding Paragraph.

And as the Law of *England* is so respectful of *Ambassadors*, so for her *own* she useth to furnish them with as political Commissions and Instructions, and as exactly couchd as any other Kings Ambassadors whatsoever. I will produce only two Examples, the one ancient, the other modern: the first is of *Ambassadors* sent to the Council of *Basile*, which runs thus:

Ad Concilium Basilienſe ſub Eugenio Papa deſtinati ſunt per Regem Ambaſciatores, & Oratores Epiſcopus Robertus London, Philippus Exonienſis, Johannes Roſſenſiis; Johannes Bajocens, Edwardus Comes Moriton; Abbas Glaſtoneenſis, & B. M. Eboracenſis; Prior Norwici; Henricus Bromflet miles Dominus Veſciæ; Thomas Browne Legum Doctor, Decanus Sarum, Johannes Coleville Miles, & alii. Dantes & damus iis, & Ipſorum majori parti poteſtatem, & Mandatum tam generale quàm ſpeciale nomine noſtro, & pro nobis in eodem Concilio intereſſendi, tractandi, communicandi & concludendi tam de iis quæ Reformationem Eccleſiæ Univerſalis tam in Capite, & in Membris quàm in iis quæ Fidei Orthodoxæ fulcimentum Regumq; ac Principum Pacificationem concernere poterint. Nec non de & ſuper Pace perpetua, guerrarumq; abſtinentia inter Nos, & Carolum adverſarium noſtrum de Francia; ac etiam tractandi, communicandi, & appunctandi, conſentiendi inſuper, & ſi opus fuerit aiſſentiendi iis quæ juxta deliberationem dicti Concilii initi ſtatui, & ordinari contigerit. Promittentes & promittimus bona fide nos ratum, gratum, & firmum perpetuò habiturum totum, & quicquid per dictos Ambaſciatores, Oratores, & Procuratores noſtros aut Majorum partem Eorundem actum, factum, ceu geſtum fuerit in præmiſsis, & ſingulis præmiſſorum. Et Hoc idem cùm de, & ſuper iis certiorati fuerimus ad Nos, & Chriſtianum Principem attinet executioni debitæ curabimus demandari. In cujus rei teſtimonium has Literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes, Datum ſub ſigillo noſtro Magno in Palatio noſtro Weſtmonaſterienſi, x die Julii, &c.

"We delegat to the Council of *Basil* under Pope *Eugenius* for "Ambassadors and Orators Bishop *Robert* of *London*, *Philip* of "*Exceter*, &c.

"Giving, and do herby give them, and the major part of them "power and command as well general as special in our name, "and for us to be present, to treat, communicat and conclude "things as well concerning the Reformation of the universal "Church, as the Pacification of Kings and Princes; and likewise of and concerning a perpetual peace and abstinence from "VVar betwixt Us and *Charles* of *France* our Adversary; and "also to treat, communicat, appoint, and to consent besides, "and if need be to dissent from such things that shall happen to "be appointed and ordained according to the deliberation of the "said

" ſaid Council: Promiſing, and we do promiſe in good Faith to " hold for ratified, acceptable and firm to perpetuity whatſoever " ſhall be acted or done by our ſaid Ambaſſadors, Orators, or " Proctors, or the greateſt part of them in relation to the Premi- " ſes, and any part therof whenſoever we ſhall be certified, and " as becomes a Chriſtian Prince; we ſhall have a care that all " be put in due execution. In teſtimony wherof we have cauſd " theſe our Letters to be Patents, Given under our Great Seal in " our Palace at *Weſtminſter*, *x Julii*, *&c.*

Ther repaird to this Council alſo *Henry Beaufort* Son of *John* of *Gaunt*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Cardinal of St. *Euſebius*, having had licenſe to tranſport 20000 *l.* in Gold and Silver, which was a mighty ſum in thoſe daies; which money, as the ſtory hath it, though mute, yet they were moving Ambaſſadors.

The ſecond example ſhall be of *Robert Sydney* now Earl of *Leiceſter*, in an extraordinary Embaſſy to the King of *Denmark*, and other Princes of *Germany*, whoſe Inſtructions were theſe following.

CHARLES R.

" Inſtructions for our right truſty and right well-beloved Co- " ſen *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, Vicount *Liſle*, and Baron of *Sulney*, " our Ambaſſador to our dear Uncle *Chriſtian* 4. King of *Den-* " *mark*, *&c.*

" VVe have preferrd you before others to this honorable Em- " ployment, becauſe we have obſervd your conſtant application " to vertuous and noble courſes; and wold have it known to all " that we eſteem Titles not of thoſe that bury them in obſcurity " and Vice, but of ſuch that improve their worth for publik ſer- " vice in VVar or Peace, wherby tru Nobility raiſeth it ſelf a- " bove the common ſort. VVe ſend you to a great King whom " we love and honor not only for his Crown and Alliance, but " alſo for neerneſs in Blood.

" Your Meſſage in the firſt part is a Ceremony ſutable to the " affections and obligations of Princes, to expreſs the ſenſe they " have of the mortality of their Frends; which Office is beſt " perſormd by a perſon of noble rank, capable of the impreſſion " wrought in noble hearts. But the ſubſtance of your Ambaſ- " ſage is for the publik Peace, and the intereſt of our Bro- " ther, (the Palſgrave) and our dear Siſter depending therup- " on.

" To advance this great work, you muſt with convenient ſpeed

" fit

"fit your self for your journey, and pass the Seas in a ship ap-
"pointed to transport you to the Sound, or the River of *Elve*, as
"by the way you shall learn where our Uncle the King doth
"now reside. When you are landed, you shall forthwith give
"notice of your coming, that your *Reception* may be with ho-
"nor due to our Ambassador of your rank. Then, after your
"coming to Court, you shall in our name demand Audience,
"and then attend the Kings pleasure for your access; but you
"shall not visit any other until you have had the honor of his
"presence to whom you are employd.

"At your first audience you shall deliver our Letter of Cre-
"dence to our Uncle; and then with a significant expression of
"our entire and cordial affection proceeding from the obligati-
"ons of friendship, you shall tell him what great sorrow we
"have conceavd together with him for the death of our dear
"Granmother the late Queen his Mother, whose memory you
"must adorn with her stile, and due Praises enlargd, as the in-
"formation of her Life and Death, and your own Judgment
"will best direct.

"This Office being performd with the King without any
"mention of other business at that time, you shall address your
"self to the Prince if he be present, or otherwise by special audi-
"ence, and deliver with our Letter of Credence our like con-
"doleance, with expression of our hearty affection, as to a Kins-
"man whose prosperity and inward friendship we very much
"desire.

"Our Letters to our Aunts the Kings Sisters you shall deliver
"afterwards, with signification of our condoleance and of our
"love to either of them; and if more of our Cosens be there,
"you shall pass like Offices with them all.

"Whilst you attend this Ceremony, you are to inform your
"self by *Avery*, who hath the charge of our affairs at *Hambo-*
"*rough*, and is also chosen Commissioner for our sister: what
"is done concerning that Portion of our Granmothers personal
"Estate which is due unto Us, as by our Uncles own Letters
"now to be deliverd unto you, may appeer. Which Portion we
"have given entirely to our said Sister, with order to her Com-
"missioners to sollicit for the same at the appointed time: and
"in case you find performance to our Sisters satisfaction, ac-
"cording to our former Letters sent on her behalf, you shall
"take notice of it, and give our Uncle hearty thanks for his just
"favor and expedition. But if you find refusal, or delay for the
"discounting of such debt as upon former Treties, and by his
"last Letters our Uncle doth demand; you shall assure him
"that before the receit of those Letters which mention the com-
"pensation of such Debts, We had conveyd by Deed of Gift to

"our

"our Sister all our interest in the Goods; and given warrant to "her Commissioners to attend the division: and we hope our "good Uncle in his Royal justice and favor to our Sister his "Neece, and her many distressed children, will not add affli-"ction to affliction, but rather give them help by his forward-"ness in this our gift, which we can no more revoke.

"If this prevail not, you shall modestly demand what those "Debts are wherof he expecteth compensation; and therin "to clear all misunderstanding, you are thus to distinguish. "The Debts to which our Uncle pretendeth, are of two kinds, "all contracted by our Father of blessed memory, and not by "us.

"First, our Father after that our Uncle had undertaken the "*German* War, sent Sir *Robert Anstruther* with an advance of "forty six thousand pounds present moneys, and promised to "pay thirty thousand pounds monthly so our Uncle wold main-"tain one thousand horse, and four thousand foot, for restoring "our Brother and Sister to all their Patrimonial Dignities and "Estates. If then our Uncle shall declare, that this is the debt "he pretendeth to defalque out of the divided Goods; you shall "with due respects (and as it were unwillingly) call unto his "mind what manner of performance was found on his part, and "how little those designes have bin advanced for which our Fa-"ther expressed his Royal affection by so large an offer; which "caused us at our coming to the Crown to send the Duke of "*Buckingham* and Earl of *Holland* to meet our Uncles Ambassa-"dors at the *Hague* to qualifie those indigested assumptions, "made *de bene esse*, for the present, without debate of Articles "indifferent for both parts. And then (as our Uncle well "knoweth) we setled the accompt upon a new foot, and ther-"fore ought no more to be called back to those exorbitant de-"mands, which notwithstanding upon due calculation of all "our disbursements in money, and in charges of our Auxiliary "aids and diversions, we have so much exceeded: That (lay-"ing aside all exception for not performing conditions) we have "just cause to claim retribution, or at least acknowledgment of "well-deserved thanks, and not to be now strained for compen-"sation of those Debts. Of our last expences ther hath bin a "List transmitted to *Avery* from Sir *Henry Vane*, wherof you "may make use by a Copy to be now delivered unto you, to ac-"quit Us of those debts.

"But ther is another debt for money borrowed by our Fa-"ther, which we do acknowledg both principal and interest, "and for liquidation therof have given former directions to our "Ambassador Sir *Henry Vane*, who is to meet the Kings Mini-"sters at the *Hague* in his return out of *Germany*, and to consi-

"der of a cours for our Uncles satisfaction, according to his ex-
"pectation and our desire. Upon this meeting (if otherwise
"you cannot) you must discharge your self; and having setled
"the division of the Portion, and put off the accompts in this
"manner, you shall afterwards proceed as you find time and
"opportunity to your more weighty negotiation concerning the
"common cause; representing to that King our Uncle the pre-
"sent state of *Christendome*, specially of *Germany*, the seat of the
"War, that upon a mature consideration therof both he and we
"may best advise how to govern our Proceedings, as well for
"our safety as for our interests with others, and chiefly for the
"obtaining of a sure peace, which is to be desired for the com-
"mon good. To this purpose you shall move him to cast his
"eyes upon that progress the King of *Sweden* (his Neighbour)
"hath already made by his sword, almost through the Empire,
"beyond all mens expectation: and to foresee in his great wis-
"dome what the consequence will be, if by victorious Arms he
"shall obtain power to give the Princes and States on both sides
"what Law shall please himself; which may reasonably be
"feared, if no cours be timely taken for preservation of their
"rights by treaty or otherwise.

"On the other side you may lay before him the power yet re-
"maining in the puissant house of *Austria*, with the dependance
"of *Bavaria*, and other *German* Princes; and how both sides are
"supported by forren assistants, those with the money and coun-
"tenance of *Spain*, these with the actual arms of *France*, besides
"the diversions of the Low Countries and *Italy*; so as in all pro-
"bability the War is like to last long, and the balance may be
"swayd as other Princes put to their hands.

"And the King of *Swede* having lately moved both the Prin-
"ces and States of his alliance, and others, to joyn league for the
"liberty of *Germany*, and for peace, and inviting us to joyn ther-
"in: and the Emperour also discovering on his side an inclina-
"tion to treaty and to peace, you must entreat for our better
"information our Uncles sound advice, and how he stands affe-
"cted, and whether he be engaged in any such treaty; with
"whom, and how far; and whether our conjunction with the
"rest will be desired. To which we may by him be persua-
"ded to apply our selves, so as by the treaty the full restitution
"of our Brother and Sister to their Patrimonial Dignities and
"Estates, (being the only interest of our engagement) may be
"effectually provided for. If upon these intimations the King
"shall reveal unto you any overtures of a treaty already in hand,
"and that therin our conjunction will be desired, you shall with
"speed give us account of the particulars, and of the grounds
"therof, with all the circumstances of persons, times and places,

"that

" that therupon we may send you such further powers and in-
" structions for your proceedings with our Uncle and other
" Princes, as with the advice of our Council we shall think
" meet.

" Besides this main business, other occasions may be appre-
" hended there by you for the advantage of our service; for it by
" conference with *Avery* you shall understand of any impedi-
" ment or obstruction of the trade of our Merchants residing in
" *Hamborough*, caused by any difference betwixt that King and
" the Town; or by his pretence of commanding the River of
" *Elve*, you shall do Offices in our name betwixt our Uncle and
" the Town to remove offences, and to settle good agreement
" upon honorable terms for the King, and so as an Innovation
" may not be made, which may prejudice the intended treaty,
" or which may restrain our Merchants from that freedome of
" trade there, which they have enjoyed so many yeers. And
" wheras by occasion of the War betwixt *Poland* and *Sweden*
" new Impositions are raised in the *Pellow*, and elsewhere, with
" other restraints of trade, which in the end will force our Mer-
" chants and the Low Country-men also to seek the Commodi-
" ties of *Eastland* in *America*, to the great detriment of the Kings
" Customes at *Elsenore*, you shall in this regard advise with our
" Uncle how the ancient freedom in like manner may be resto-
" red in that trade.

" For *Island* you shall signifie to our Uncle that in conformity
" to his late Letters we have prohibited our subjects that Fish in
" those Seas, or fetch Hawks from those parts, either to export
" or import any Merchandise to hinder his Farmers; not doubt-
" ing of his gracious reciprocal favor to our said subjects in their
" lawful proceedings.

" Concerning our Coller of Rubies which hath formerly bin
" engagd to raise moneys, you shall inform your self by *Avery*
" how the case now stands, and shall proceed as upon further
" advice therof we shall direct.

" You shall keep good correspondence with our Ambassa-
" dors and Agents in all parts as occasion shall be offered, but
" especially with Sir *Henry Vane*, who is employed with the King
" of *Sweden*, and with Sir *Robert Anstruther* at the Emperours
" Court.

JOHN COKE.

By

By these two Presidents of Commission and Instructions, we may see how exact and curious the English Court is in this point; how quaintly such Publik Dispatches are couchd, not so plain and flat, with such superfluity of speech as I have seen the Instructions of other Princes stuffd withal.

We will to the Reception, Attendance, Treatments, Gifts, (*Lautia*) composing of Differences, with other high civilities usd towards Forren Ambassadors in the English Court.

Touching the first, Ther are no Ambassadors whatsoever receavd more splendidly, and with greater state both by water and land, then in *England:* For first, he is brought in Royal Barges a good way upon a Noble Navigable River, through a Forest of main Masts on both sides, and landed at the stairs of a huge Tower in sight of a stupendious Bridg, such as I may well say the world hath not the like. Then is he conducted in the Kings Coach with a great number besides through the centre of the City of *London*, to a house expresly provided for him if he comes extraordinary, where he is magnificently treated for divers days upon the Kings charge. Now the Rule of the Court is, That the Ambassador of a *King* is to be brought in by an *Earl* at least; an Ambassador from *Dukes* and Republiks to be brought in by a *Baron*. Tis a Rule also that no Ambassadors be allowd this honor at privat Audiences but only at the first and last publik, or when any are invited to Dine with the King. Moreover, that no Ambassador except a *Kings*, is to be met with the Kings Coach further off then the Tower-wharf: And wheras the Coaches of other Ambassadors residing upon the place were usd to go to accompany the new-landed Ambassador from Tower-wharf, which gave occasion of clashing for Precedence of Coaches, as happend the last yeer twixt the Spanish Ambassador, the Baron of *Batteville*, and Monsieur *Lestrade* the French, which flew so high that it went to effusion of blood, and killing, (as it is mentiond before in the last Paragraph of the first Section more particularly) Ther is an Act of State passd, that all Forren Ambassadors shall forbear for the future from that complement of sending their Coaches to that purpose. Well, the new Ambassador being so housd, is visited by persons of Quality, as also by other Ambassadors: Now, it is a Maxime among Ambassadors, *That the first come is to visit the last come.*

Touching Presents, ther's no Court goes beyond that of *England:* It was a Rule that the French and Spanish Ordinaries were to have 4000 Ounces of Gilt Plate at their departure; The Venetian Ambassador 2000; The Archdukes 1600, *&c.* But (by the Examples of other Courts) ther was a retrenchment herof,

herof, and it began first with Monsieur *Buisseaux* in King *James* his Raign, who had but 2000 Ounces sent Him; the Venetian 1600, and the Archdukes 1000, *&c.*

Touching divers sorts of Clashes, Contestations, Differences and Punctilios betwixt Ambassadors, ther have bin as prudent and preventing courses taken in the English Court from time to time as in any other; as will appeer in the printed Observations of that worthy Knight Sir *John Finets*, to whom I refer the Reader.

We will conclude this Paragraph with some further inspections into the Laws of *England* concerning Ambassadors. In the 13 of Queen *Elizabeth* it was gravely debated in the Bishop of *Rosse* his case, who was Ambassador here for *Scotland*, *An Legatus qui Rebellionem contra Principem ad quem Legatus, concitat, Legati privilegiis gaudeat, an ut hostis pœnis subjaceat:* Whether an *Ambassador* who raiseth Rebellion against the Prince to whom he is sent, is to enjoy the privileges of an *Ambassador*; or whether he is to lie under a punishment as an Enemy; It was resolved by all the Judges of the Land that he had lost the privileges of an *Ambassador*, and was punishable by the Law of the Land. Herupon *Mendoza* the *Spanish Amdassador* was commanded away because he fomented a Rebellion, *&c.*

Moreover, as my Lord *Coke* hath it, and therin he agreeth with the Civilians, If an *Ambassador* committeth a delect *contra Jus Gentium*, as Treason, Felony, Adultery, *&c.* he loseth the privilege of an *Ambassador*, and may be punished in *England* as any privat *Alien*, and not to be remanded but upon courtesie: But committing any thing against the privat Municipal Law and Customes of *England*, which is not *Malum in se Jure gentium*, He is not punishable. The breaking of Truces and Safe-conducts was once High Treason by the Laws of *England*, but that was mitigated 2 *Hen.* 5. Furthermore, my Lord *Coke* holds in his fourth Institut, That if one be namd but *Agent* in his Credentials from a King, yet he is an *Ambassador*.

The ninth Paragraph,

Concerning the wise Compliances, and Witty facetious Sayings and Carriage of divers Ambassadors during the time of their Negotiation, &c.

As it is a principal quality in an *Ambassador* to be serious, abstruse, and reservd in the discharge of his Function; so it is a mighty advantage for him to be *Witty* as well as *Wise*; to be facetious, and play the *Drol* sometimes; for the Italian says, *Non è saggio chi non sà esser pazzo*, He is not wise who knows not how to play the Fool sometimes. Apt, pleasant and sudden Reparties discover a great deal of wit. An Ambassador being sent to the King of *Morocco* (whose Law we know is not to eat Swines Flesh) be brought him Letters wherin all his Titles were not given him; The King said, *Sus has Literas peperit*, A Sow begat these Letters. The Ambassador suddenly answerd, *Ne iis Vescaris*, It was done that you shold not eat them. The Town of *Agrigentum*, as *Herodotus* reports, having sent *Gellias* a very hard-favord man *Ambassador* to *Centuripe*, a low dirty Town in *Sicily*, and being jeerd, and stard upon at his audience, he answerd, *Ne Miremini Centuripini, ut Urbes sunt, ita Cives mei Legatos mittunt, pulchros ad pulchras, deformes ad deformes:* Do not wonder, O you of *Centuripe* at *me*, for my Masters of *Agrigentum* send their Ambassadors as the Cities are, Fair to Fair, Foul to Foul. Don *Pedro de Toledo* being employd Ambassador to *Henry* the 4. of *France*, ther were many traverses between them at one privat audience, and Don *Pedro* magnifying much the power of the *Spanish* Monarchy, King *Henry* said, That it was much like the Statue of *Nebuchadnezzar* composd of divers peeces, but having Feet of clay; Don *Pedro* then replying somewhat high, the King rejoynd that if he were provokd he wold carry flames even to the *Escurial*; and if that he once mounted, he wold be soon in *Madrid*. Don *Pedro* answerd, *Indeed King* Francis *was there*, meaning *Francis* the first, who was taken at the Battail of *Pavia*, and remaind Prisoner in *Madrid* divers yeers; The King going on further to tax the King of *Spain* for usurping divers Countries of his, and namely the Kingdome of *Navarre*, which he might live to recover; Don *Pedro* answerd, *That the Justice wherby the King his Master held Navarre, wold help him to defend it*; The King replyd, Your reason is good till I be in *Pampelona*; *Don Pedro* therupon rising hastily, and going towards the door; The King askd whither went he so hastily? He answerd, *To provide entertainment for your Majesty at* Pampelona. A *French* Ambassador (Monsieur *de Tilliers* as I take it) residing here, and being invited

vited one day to Dine with *King James*, the *King* being well-disposd began a Health to him, saying, The *King* of *France* drinks the French Kings Health; The *Ambassador* answerd as pleasantly, *Le Roy mon Maitre est bon Lieutenant, Il tient bien la France de Luy*; The King my Master is a good Lieutenant, he holds *France* well from him. But of any that I have heard or read of, *Don Diego de Acunia Count of Gondamar*, had an extraordinary faculty this way; and besides, he had well studied the Genius of King *James*, (in whose Raign he resided here) how he was pleasd with sudden plesant Reparties, therfore he did *Seria jocosè*, he did dispatch serious things in a merry way. When Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was gone with a Fleet to *Guiana*, and when news was broght that he had taken *San Toma*, plunderd the place, and killd the Governor, which was as some say beyond the bounds of his Commission, wherin he was restraind from doing any Acts of hostility upon the *firm Land*, *Gondamar* came early one morning to the King, desiring to speak but only *one word* to his Majesty: being admitted, he cryed out, *Pyratas, Pyratas, Pyratas*; intimating that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was turnd Pyrat; but that word was so fatal, that it took off Sir *Walters* head, though upon an old score.

Another time having discourst of many things with the King in a privat audience in *French*, the King askd him whether he understood *Latin* or no? Yes, Sir, said *Gondomar*, I understand it, and speak it. Discoursing afterwards in *Latin* of divers things in a free and facetious way, it happend that *Gondamar* spoke false *Latin* once or twice; the King smiling, said, How comes it to pass that you being an *Ambassador* to so great a *King*, who shold be exact in all things, how comes it that you break *Priscians* head so often? *Gondamar* replyed, *Sir, I speak Latin like a King, and your Majesty speaks Latin like an Ambassador.*

Count *Gondamar* having bin outragd by the Rabble in *London*, who threw Tobacco-pipes into his Litter, and did him other affronts, coming after to have a privat audience, and the King taking notice of it, he said, *La Harina de Ingalatierra es muy delgada, y fina, pero el afrecho es muy grossero:* Sir, the Flowre of *England* (meaning the Gentry) is very fine; but the Bran is very coorse, meaning the common peeple.

Another time being to dispatch a Courrier to *Spain*, and the old Countess of *Buckingham* being then in extraordinary high favor, that most Suters made their address unto her, he writ in a Postscript to Count *Olivares*, That ther were never greater hopes then now that *England* wold turn *Roman* Catholik, for the Mother was more worshippd then the Son.

Count *Gondamar* being invited another time to Dine with the Reader at *Grayes*-Inne, at which time the *Palsgrave* was newly come

come to *Prague*, among other Healths ther was one begun to the *King* of *Bohemia*: He pledgd it very merrily, and thankd the Reader, with the reſt of the Company; for it was the firſt time that ever he pledgd the *Emperours* Health in *England*.

Having another time diſpatchd an *Expreſs* to *Spain*, and the weather having continued dark and clowdy in *London* for many days, the Poſt having receavd the Packet, and taken his leave, Count *Gondamar* commanded, and told him, I forgot one thing, I prethee when thou art come to *Spain* commend me to the *Sun*, for I have not ſeen him here a great while, and I am ſure thou wilt meet with him there.

King James having granted leave to Count *Gondamar* to raiſe Volonteers to *Flanders* for the ſervice of the *King* of *Spain* under my Lord *Vaux*, and ſoldiers coming but ſlowly to the ſound of the Drum; *Gondamar* coming a little afterwards to Court, the *King* askd him what number of ſoldiers he had levied? He anſwerd, *Truly, Sir, I can have but few ſoldiers, but thouſands that wold be Captains though they were but common ſoldiers before.*

I will conclude with Count *Gondamar* in this very witty paſſage: when he was to take his leave of *England* in his laſt Embaſſy, the *King* ſent to my Lord Mayor of *London* to invite him to Dinner; which he did with much ſolemnity, having bid the chiefeſt Lords of the Court to bear him company: At firſt the Lord Mayor after other Complements told him, My Lord Ambaſſador, your Excellency me thinks begins to grow very gray. Yes, Sir, ſaid he; but my Lord Mayor, we have a Proverb in *Spain, Canos y Cuernos no vienen Porannos*; Gray Hairs and Horns come not by yeers. Being ſate at Table, the Lord Mayor began divers Healths; at laſt *Gondamar* calls for a good Glaſs-full of Canary, and ſaid, You are the greateſt Magiſtrat in the world, for you give place to none but to your own *King*, as I hear, and you live alſo as plentifully: But now that you have made ſo much of me, that having pledgd ſo many Healths you put me in a Jovial humor, I crave leave of theſe Noble Lords and you to begin a Health or two; and the firſt ſhall be to the *King* of *Spains* Miſtreſs; ſo the Health was drunk round. Then he took another Glaſs of Canary, and began a Health to the *King* of *Spains* Wife; which alſo paſſd round among the Lords and Aldermen. Then ſtanding up, He thankd them all with many Complements, and ſaid, I will now diſcover who theſe two Ladies are; The *King* of *Spains Miſtreſs* is the *Eaſt-Indies*, and his *Wife* the *Weſt-Indies*; Ther's none ſo fond of a Miſtreſs but that if a Frend hath a favor of her, he will connive at it, as you my Lord Mayor, and theſe worthy Aldermen whom I have in my eye, uſe to have of the *Eaſt-Indies*. But my Maſters *wife* is the *Weſt-Indies*, which he deſires to have ſoly to himſelf according

ding to the Law of Nations; Therfore I pray you my Lord Mayor, and these Noble Aldermen, do not offer to meddle with the *King* my Masters *Wife*.

We will now proceed to a few others. An Ambassador Extraordinary being sent by an Italian Prince to the Emperour that he wold confer the Title of *Serenity* upon his Master as he had done lately upon divers other Princes; But being to depart *Re infectâ*, and taking his leave of the Emperour that morning, and the weather being foul and very tempestuous, he askd what was the reason he would begin his Journey upon such stormy weather? He answerd, *Il ne faut pas craindre la Tempeste, puis que votre Majesté a remply le monde de tant de Serenité*; One ought not to fear Tempest, since your Majesty hath filld the world with such *Serenity*.

Don *Pedro Andrea* being sent Ambassador to a Prince whom he had offended so far that he threatned to have his head cut off, He answerd, Sir, my dead head will do you more mischief then now that tis living.

Franciſco Marco being sent from *Genoa* to *Galeazzo* Duke of *Milan*, but being delayed audience, and St. *John Baptists* day being come, who was Protector of *Milan*, he presented the Duke with a Golden Vessel full of *Basilique*; Being askd the reason, he sent word that the *Genouois have the property of the Herb Basilique, which if one handle gently, it will yeeld a sweet smell; but if it be rubbd, and trod upon it, it will engender Serpents:* And this witty passage conducd much towards the ending of the differences which were then a foot.

The *Samnits* being pressd hard by the *Romans*, they sent *Ambassadors* to capitulat; who said, *Noble Romans, you are grown too strong for us; therfore if you propose moderat terms we will observe them eternally: if otherwise, we will observe them no longer then till we have opportunity to break them.*

That Ambassador wanted no wit, who being in a Pagan Country, and standing in the way where the great Idol whom all were to worship which passd by, he let fall his Ring, and as he bowd to take it up, twas thought he adord the Idol.

The Ambassadors of *Portugal* and *Poland* being at *Sigismund* the Emperours Court, and ther being always competition between them for Precedence of Session, they met casually at a place, where the *Portugais* having come before, he was got into the upper Chair; The *Pole* rising up, and making a step forward in a posture as if he wold speak with him, and the *Portugais* coming towards him, he whippd behind him into the upper Chair, and so kept it.

We will conclude this Paragraph with the two *Ambaſſadors* of *Perugia* ſent to *Rome*, wherof the one was witty, but the other not ſo wiſe: Being admitted to the Pope, who was then very ſick a bed, one of made them a long tedious Speech, wherof the Pope had ſhewn ſignes of diſtaſt: Therupon the ſecond ſaid, Moſt Holy Father, our Commiſſion implies, that if your Beatitude will not ſuddenly diſpatch us with ſatisfaction, my Collegue ſhold recommence his Speech, and pronounce it again more leſurely. The *Pope* was ſo taken with this, that he gave order they ſhold be preſently diſpatchd.

The tenth and laſt Paragraph.

Of the extraordinary Prudence and Reſervedneſs, the Stoutneſs and Gallantry of divers Engliſh Ambaſſadors, &c.

WE will begin with that *Grandee* of his time Cardinal *Wolſey*, who went over to *France* upon an Extraordinary *Embaſſy*; and he had to attend him (though not in joynt commiſſion) *Cutbert Tunſtal* Biſhop of *London*; the Lord *Sands*, late *Chamberlain* to the King; the Earl of *Derby*; Sir *Thomas Moore*; Sir *Henry Guilford*, with other Knights and Gentlemen of great rank, to the number of a thouſand two hundred horſe: for after a ſhort transfretation from *Dover*, he had ſo many in his train when he went out of *Calice*. The *French* King *Francis* 1. in perſon, with his *Mother*, and moſt of the chief *Peers*, came to meet Him as far as *Amyens*, above two days diſtant from *Paris*. He carried with him 140000 *l.* ſterling, a prodigious ſum in thoſe days, (though Silver was but 20 *d.* an Ounce) He tranſported that vaſt ſum with him to aſſiſt the *French* King, and other Confederats in a War againſt *Charles* 5. Emperour. Ther is no Hiſtory can parallel this *Embaſſy*, it was performd with ſuch a glorious Equippage; Beſides, the *Ambaſſador* had ſuch a Plenipotentiary and tranſcendent Cummiſſion, that he gave the Law both to *France* and the *Popedome*; and he comported himſelf with ſuch dexterity and high wiſdome, that all the Princes of Chriſtendome (who had their eyes fixt upon him) admired him.

This ſecond example ſhall be of another ſtrain of Gallantry by Sir *Jerome Bowes*, who was employd *Ambaſſador* to the Emperor of *Ruſsia*, who was cryed up for a Tyrant; Sir *Jerome* at his firſt audience having ſome affronts offerd to be put upon him, that he ſhold put off his Hat, els it ſhold be naild to his head, he was not a whit daunted, but kept it on ſtill, ſaying, he had no ſuch commiſſion

commission from the Queen his Mistress. Therupon the Emperour slighting the *Queen* in comparison of the Emperour of *Germany*, who was the only Prince Paramount; Sir *Jerome* replyed, That his great Mistresses Father had the *Emperour* (his Majesty speaks of) to serve him in the Wars, and receavd pay of him. Wherupon with a kind of astonishment at his courage he parted peaceably. But afterwards being advancd in his Journey as far as *Archangel*, and being embarkd, ther came some of the Emperours Officers with Presents of rich Furs for the Queen, and some for himself; and being come to the side of the ship with them, He wold not suffer them to board, but drawing out his Sword, said, My Mistres the *Queen* of *England* hath no need of your Catskins, nor I neither, therfore you may carry them back.

Ambassadors being sent to *Bourbourgh* to treat of a Truce betwixt the King of *Spain* and the *Hollanders*, Doctor *Dale* was sent for an assistant; and coming to kiss the *Queens* hands, she told him, That understanding he was a Learned Man, and a good *Civilian*, she made choice of him for that employment, and she wold allow him 20 *s.* a day. He humbly thankd her Majesty, and said he wold spend nineteen of them evry day for her Majesties honor: therupon the *Queen* asking him what he wold do with the other odd shilling; he replyed, I will keep that for my Wife *Kate:* so the *Queen* encreasd his allowance. Being assembled to treat, ther was a Debate in what *Language* they shold treat: the *Spanish* Ambassador thinking to put a jeer upon our Ambassadors, said, Let us treat in *French*, for your *Queen* is Queen of *France*. No, said Doctor *Dale*, then let us treat in *Hebrew*, for your Master the King of *Spain* calls himself King of *Jerusalem*.

Sir *Edward Herbert* late Earl of *Cherberry*, being *Ambassador* in *France*, it happend that he had a clath with the great Favorit, and Constable *Luynes*, which was thus: Sir *Edward* had receavd privat Instructions from *England* to mediat a Peace for *Them of the Religion*; and in case of refusal, to use certain Menaces. Hereupon He coming to the Army which was then before St. *Jean d' Angely*, where the King was in person, and he finding that the approches to the Town were almost finishd, He hastned his address to the King for an audience. The King referrd him to *Luynes*, desiring that what he had to say might be imparted unto *Him*: Wherupon he went accordingly to *Luynes* Lodgings, and deliverd his Message; but so that he reservd the latter part, which was Menaces until he heard how the business was relishd. *Luynes* had hid behind the Hangings a Gentleman of the *Religion*, who was upon point of turning *Roman*, that being an Earwitness of what had passd between the English *Ambassador* and *Luynes*,

Luynes, he might relate unto Them of the *Religion* what little hopes they were to expect from the interceſſion of the King of *England*. The Ambaſſador and *Luynes* having mingled ſome Speeches, the language of *Luynes* was very haughty, ſaying, *What hath your Maſter to do with our Affairs? why doth he meddle with our Actions?* Sir *Edward* replyed, *It is not you to whom the King my Maſter doth owe an account of his Actions; and for Me, tis enough that I obey* Him: *In the mean time I muſt maintain that the King my Maſter hath more reaſon to do what he pleaſeth to do, then you have to ask why he doth it; Nevertheleſs if you deſire me in a gentle faſhion I ſhall acquaint you further.* Wherupon *Luynes* bowing a little, ſaid, *Very well.* The Ambaſſador anſwerd, That it was not on this occaſion only that the *King* of *Great Britain* had deſired the peace and proſperity of *France*, but upon all other occaſions whenſoever any troubles were raiſd in that Country; And this he ſaid was his firſt reaſon. The ſecond was, That when a Peace was ſetled there, his Majeſty of *France* might be better diſpoſd to aſſiſt the Palatin in the affairs of *Germany*. *Luynes* ſaid, We will none of your advices. The Ambaſſador replyed, That He took that for an anſwer, and was ſorry only that the affection and good will of the *King* his Maſter was not ſufficiently underſtood; and that ſince twas rejected in that manner, He could do no leſs then ſay, that the *King* his Maſter knew well enough what He had to do. *Luynes* anſwerd, We are not afraid of you. The Ambaſſador ſmiling a little, replyed, If you had ſaid you had not *loved* us, I ſhold have beleevd you, and made you another anſwer; in the mean time all that I will tell you more, is this, *That we know very well what we have to do.* *Luynes* herupon riſing a little from his Chair with a faſhion and countenance much diſcompoſd, ſaid, *By God, if you were not Monſieur the Ambaſſador I know very well how I wold uſe you.* The Ambaſſador riſing alſo from his Chair, ſaid, That as he was his Majeſtie of *Great Britain's* Ambaſſador, ſo he was alſo a Gentleman, and that his Sword (wheron he laid his hand) ſhold do him reaſon if he had taken any offence. After which *Luynes* replying nothing, the Ambaſſador went on his way towards the door, and *Luynes*, ſeeming to accompany him, the Ambaſſador told him, That after ſuch Language ther was no occaſion to uſe ſuch ceremony, and ſo departed, expecting to hear further from him. But no meſſage being brought him from *Luynes*, he did in pourſuance of his Inſtructions demand audience of the *King* at *Coignac*, St. *Jean d' Angely* being now renderd up; who granting it, he did in the ſame terms, and upon the ſame motives mediat a Peace for Them of the *Religion*, and receavd a far more gentle anſwer from the *King*. The Marſhal of St. *Geran* coming to Sir *Edward Herbart*, told him in a friendly manner, *You have offended the Conſtable,*

and

and you are not in a place of ſurety here. Wherunto he anſwerd, *That he held himſelf to be in a place of ſurety wherſoever he had his ſword by him.*

Luynes little reſenting the affront he had receavd from Sir *Edward Herbert*, got *Cadenet* his Brother Duke of *Chaune* with a ruffling Train of Field-Officers, neer upon a hundred, (wherof ther was not one, as *Cadenet* told King *James*, but *had killd his man*) I ſay, this Man came Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *England* a little after, who miſ-reporting the Traverſes twixt *Herbert* and *Luynes*, prevailed ſo far, that Sir *Edward Herbert* was preſently revokd to anſwer the Charge that ſhold be laid againſt him. In the mean time the Earl of *Carlile* was employd Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *France* for accommodating *Le Mal Entendu* which might ariſe betwixt the two Crowns. *Carlile* was commanded to inform himſelf of the truth of the buſineſs aforementiond, and he could meet with no relation but what *Luynes* had made himſelf, wherin more affronting and haughty expreſſions were laid to Sir *Edward Herberts* charge then had truly paſſed: For though the firſt provocation came from *Luynes*, yet the *Ambaſſador* kept himſelf within the bounds both of his Inſtructions and Honor. But as my Lord of *Carlile* was ready to ſend this miſ-information to *England*, the Gentleman formerly ſpoken of who ſtood behind the Hangings came to the Earl of *Carlile*, and ſaid, That he owd ſo much duty to Truth and Honor that he could do no leſs then vindicat Cavalier *Herbert* from all indiſcretion and unworthineſs; and therupon related the true circumſtance of the buſineſs, which was as it was before told. The Earl of *Carlile* being thus rectified in knowledg of the truth, gave account to King *James* accordingly, who cleerd Sir *Edward Herbert*, and reſolvd to renvoy him Ambaſſador to *France*, wherof he having notice, He kneeld to the King before the Duke of *Buckingham*, and deſird that ſince the buſineſs was publik in both Kingdoms, he might in a publik way demand reparatiou of Monſieur *Luynes*: for which purpoſe he beſeechd his Majeſty that a Trumpeter if not a Herald might be ſent on his part to Monſieur *Luynes* to tell him, That he had made a falſe relation of the paſſages before mentiond, and that Sir *Edward Herbert* wold demand reaſon of him with ſword in hand on that point. The *King* anſwerd that he wold take it into conſideration; but *Luynes* a little after died, and Sir *Edward Herbert* was ſent *Ambaſſador* to *France* again.

John the late Earl of *Briſtol* being *Ambaſſador* in *Spain*, had many claſhes with the *Alguazils*, and the *Alcalde* himſelf, together with divers Officers, to preſerve the *Privileges* of his Houſe in point of Sanctuary, which was done with much cou-

rage and discretion. But ther was one signal passage among divers other, One *Scoppius* had publishd an infamous base Book against *King James*, and being in *Flanders*, (where Sir *John Benet* was sent for, among other things, to demand Justice of the *Archduke* upon him) he had fled to *Madrid*, and the Earl being in despair to get him punishd there where the *Jesuits* are so powerful, he employd a good resolut Gentleman Mr. *George Digby* his *Kinsman* to give the said *Scoppius* a *Balafre* or slash ore the face, which he did to some purpose, for tis athwart ore his face, and his mouth that had offended, which he carried as a mark of Revenge to his Grave.

The said *Earl* being also employd *Ambassador* to the *Emperour* in the heighth of the Wars for the *Palatinat*, and returning neer *Heydelberg*, or therabouts where Count *Mansfelts* Army was, upon which the greatest strength of the *Palsgrave* depended, which Army being ready to disband for want of Pay, the Earl of *Bristol* pawnd his whole Cupboard of Plate to find mony for the said Army, els all had bin lost at that time.

Such an extraordinary Noble Act (and beyond Commission) the Earl of *Leicester* did propose also to do when he was *Ambassador* to the *King* of *Denmark*: For wheras that *King* made a delay to pay the Portion which was due unto the Lady *Elizabeth* out of the Estate of *Queen Sophia* her Granmother, which amounted to about 150000 *l.* and which the said *Earl* had power to receave; and the reason of the *King* of *Denmarks* delay, being, because ther were some accounts to be liquidated twixt his Nephew the *King* of *Great Britain* and Him; The said Earl (provided he might receave the said Portion due to the Lady *Elizabeth* to comfort her now in her great extremities) offerd to engage besides his *Honor*, all the *Estate* he had in *England*, (which his Majesty must partly know) that this shold no way prejudice the accounts that were twixt *Him* and the *King* of *Great Britain*. This motion of the *Ambassadors* was highly extolld by the *King* and all the *Danish* Court for the Nobleness of it. The said Earl being afterwards *Ambassador* for many yeers in *France*, he wold never give Precedence to Cardinal *Richelieu*: and touching *Hugo Grotius*, who, as he was *Ambassador* for *Sweden*, wold have made his Coaches drive before his, he was put back *avec un pied de nez*, with a Nose a footlong, as is mentiond more at large in the last Paragraph of *Great Britain* which went before.

Liberorum Cerebri
Sextus
Post Quadraginta.

FINIS.

The Bookſeller to the Reader.

THe Reaſon why ther is no Table or Index added herunto, is, That evry Page in this Work is ſo full of ſignal Remarks, that were they couchd in an Index, it wold make a Volume as big as the Book, and ſo make the Poſtern Gate to bear no proportion with the Building.

CHR. ECCLESTON.